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Centenary Edition

THE WORLD OF MATTER
AND
THE SPIRIT OF MAN

I

TRANSCENDENTALISM

The will is father to the deed, but the thought and sentiment are father and mother of the will. Nothing seems more impotent than a thought, it has neither hands nor feet,— but nothing proves so powerful. The thought turns out a thing; its vice or virtue becomes manners, habits, laws, institutions; the abstraction becomes concrete; the most universal proposition is the most particular; and in the end it is the abstract thinker who is the most practical man and sets mills a-running and ships to sail.

A change of ideas made all the difference between Catholic and Protestant, monarchical and democratic. You see that all things are first an idea in the mind, then a fact out of the mind. The architect, the farmer, the railroad-calculator, the founder of empires, has his temple, his farm, his railroad, or his empire, in his head as an idea before it is a fact in the world, As the thought is the thing becomes. Every idea bears fruit after its kind,— the good, good; the bad, bad. Some few hundred years ago John Huss, Luther, Lord Bacon, Descartes said, We will not be ruled by authority in the church or the school, but by common sense and reason. That was nothing but an idea; but out of it has come the Protestant Reformation, the English Revolution, the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the cycle of Revolutions that fill up the year 1848. Yes, all the learned societies of Europe, all the Protestant churches, all the liberal governments,— of

Holland, England, France, Germany, America,— have come of that idea. The old fellows in Galileo's time would not look through his telescope lest it should destroy the authorized theory of vision; they knew what they were about. So have all the old fellows known ever since who refuse to look through a new telescope, or even at it, but only talk against it. Once the Egyptian sculptors copied men into stone with their feet joined and their hands fixed to their sides. The copy indicated the immutableness of things in Egypt, where a mummy was the type of a man. A Greek sculptor separated the feet, as in life, illegally taking a live man for his type. The sculptor lost his head, for the government saw a revolution of the empire in this departure from the authorized type of man. Such is the power of ideas. The first question to ask of a civilized nation is, How do they think? what is their philosophy?

Now it is the design of philosophy to explain the phenomena of the universe by showing their order, connection, cause, law, use and meaning. These phenomena are of two kinds or forms, as they belong to the material world— facts of observation; and as they belong to the spiritual world — facts of consciousness: facts without, and facts within. From these two forms of phenomena or facts there come two grand divisions of philosophy: the philosophy of outward things,— physics; the philosophy of inward things,— metaphysics.

In the material world, to us, there are only facts. Man carries something thither, to wit, ideas. Thus the world has quite a different look; for he finds the facts without have a certain relation to the ideas within. The world is one thing to Newton's dog Dia-

mond, quite another to Newton himself. The dog saw only the facts and some of their uses; the philosopher saw therein the reflected image of his own ideas,— saw order, connection, cause, law and meaning, as well as use.

Now in the pursuit of philosophy there are two methods which may be followed, namely, the deductive and the inductive.

I. By the deductive the philosopher takes a certain maxim or principle, assumes it as a fact and therefrom deduces certain other maxims or principles as conclusions, as facts. But in the conclusions there must be nothing which is not in the primary fact else the conclusion does not conclude. All pure science is of this character — geometry, algebra, arithmetic. $1 + 1 = 2$ is a maxim, let us suppose: $1000 + 1000 = 2000$ is one deduction from it; $25 \times 25 = 625$, another deduction. Thus the philosopher must be certain of the fact he starts from, of the method he goes by, and the conclusion he stops at is made sure of beforehand.

The difficulty is that the philosopher often assumes his first fact, takes a fancy for a fact; then, though the method be right, the conclusion is wrong. For instance, Aristotle assumed this proposition,— the matter of the sun is incorruptible; thence he deduced this fact, that the sun does not change, that its light and heat are constant quantities. The conclusion did not agree with observation, the theory with the facts. His first fact was not proved, could not be, was disproved. But when Galileo looked at the sun with a telescope he saw spots on the sun, movable spots. Aristotle's first fact turned out a fancy, so all conclusion from it. The Koran is written by the infallible inspiration of God, the Pope is infallible, the King can do no wrong, the

People are always right,— these are assumptions. If taken as truths, you see the conclusions which may be deduced therefrom,— which have been. There is in God somewhat not wholly good, is an assumption which lies at the bottom of a good deal of theology, whence conclusions quite obvious are logically deduced,— 1, Manicheism, God and the devil; 2, God and an evil never to be overcome. God is absolute good is another assumption from which the opposite deductions are to be made. The method of deduction is of the greatest value and cannot be dispensed with.

II. By the inductive method the philosopher takes facts, puts them together after a certain order, seen in nature or devised in his own mind, and tries to find a more comprehensive fact common to many facts, *i.e.*, what is called a *law*, which applies to many facts and so is a general law, or to all facts and so is a universal law. In the deductive method you pass from a universal fact to a particular fact; in the inductive, from the particular to the general. In the deductive process there is nothing in the conclusion which was not first in the premises; by the inductive something new is added at every step. The philosopher is sifting in his own conjecture or thought in order to get at a general idea which takes in all the particular facts in the case and explains them. When this general idea and the facts correspond the induction is correct. But it is as easy to arrive at a false conclusion by the inductive process as to assume a false maxim from which to make deductions. A physician's apprentice once visited his master's patient and found him dead, and reported the case accordingly. "What killed him?" said the old doctor. "He died of eating a horse." "Eating a horse!" expostulated the man of experi-

ence; "impossible! how do you know that?" "He did," said the inductive son of Æsculapius, "for I saw the saddle and bridle under the bed." Another, but a grown-up doctor, once gave a sick blacksmith a certain medicine; he recovered. "*Post hoc, ergo propter hoc*," said the doctor, and tried the same drug on the next sick man, who was a shoemaker. The shoemaker died, and the doctor wrote down his induction: "This drug will cure all sick blacksmiths, but kill all sick shoemakers. (Rule for phosphorus.)."

The inductive method is also indispensable in all the sciences which depend on observation or experiment. The process of induction is as follows: After a number of facts is collected, the philosopher looks for some one fact common to all and explanatory thereof. To obtain this he assumes a fact as a law, and applies it to the facts before him. This is an hypothesis. If it correspond to the facts, the hypothesis is true. Two great forms of error are noticeable in the history of philosophy: 1, the assumption of false maxims, whence deductions are to be made,— the assumption of no-fact for a fact; 2, the making of false inductions from actual facts. In the first, a falsehood is assumed, and then falsehood deduced from it; in the second, from a truth falsehood is induced, and this new falsehood is taken as the basis whence other falsehoods are deduced.

Pythagoras declared the sun was the centre of the planets which revolved about it; that was an hypothesis,— guess-work, and no more. He could not compare the hypothesis with facts, so his hypothesis could not be proved or disproved. But long afterwards others made the comparison and confirmed the hypothesis. Kepler wished to find out what ratio the time of a planet's revolution bears to its distance from

the sun. He formed an hypothesis,— "The time is proportionable to the distance." No, that did not agree with the facts. "To the square of the distance?" No. "To the cube of the distance?" No. "The square of the time to the cube of the distance?" This he found to be the case, and so he established his celebrated law,— Kepler's third law. But he examined only a few planets: how should he know the law was *universal?* He could not learn that by induction. That would only follow from this postulate, "The action of nature is always uniform," which is not an induction, nor a deduction, but an assumption. The inductive method alone never establishes a universal law, for it cannot transcend the particular facts in the hands of the philosopher. The axioms of mathematics are not learned by inductions, but assumed outright as self-evident. "Kepler's third law is universal of all bodies moving about a centre,"— now there are three processes by which that conclusion is arrived at: 1. The process of induction, by which the law is proved general and to apply to all the cases investigated. 2. A process of deduction from the doctrine or axiom, that the action of nature is always uniform. 3. That maxim is obtained by a previous process of assumption from some source or another.

Such is the problem of philosophy, to explain the facts of the universe; such the two departments of philosophy, physics and metaphysics; such the two methods of inquiry, deductive and inductive; such are the two forms of error,— the assumption of a false fact as the starting-point of deduction, the induction of a false fact by the inductive process. Now these methods are of use in each department of philosophy, indispensable in each, in physics and in metaphysics.

This is the problem of metaphysics,— to explain the facts of human consciousness. In metaphysics there are and have long been two schools of philosophers. The first is the sensational school. Its most important metaphysical doctrine is this: There is nothing in the intellect which was not first in the senses. Here "intellect" means the whole intellectual, moral, affectional and religious consciousness of man. The philosophers of this school claim to have reached this conclusion legitimately by the inductive method. It was at first an hypothesis; but after analyzing the facts of consciousness, interrogating all the ideas and sentiments and sensations of man, they say the hypothesis is proved by the most careful induction. They appeal to it as a principle, as a maxim, from which other things are deduced. They say that experience by one or more of the senses is the ultimate appeal in philosophy: all that I know is of sensational origin; the senses are the windows which let in all the light I have; the senses afford a sensation. I reflect upon this, and by reflection transform a sensation into an idea. An idea, therefore, is a transformed sensation.

A school in metaphysics soon becomes a school in physics, in politics, ethics, religion. The sensational school has been long enough in existence to assert itself in each of the four great forms of human action. Let us see what it amounts to.

I. In physics. 1. It does not afford us a certainty of the existence of the outward world. The sensationalist believes it, not on account of his sensational philosophy, but in spite of it; not by his philosophy, but by his common sense: he does not philosophically know it. While I am awake the senses give me various sensations, and I refer the sensations to an object out

of me, and so perceive its existence. But while I am asleep the senses give me various sensations, and for the time I refer the sensations to an object out of me, and so perceive its existence,— but when I awake it seems a dream. Now, if the senses deceive me in sleep, why not when awake? How can I *know* philosophically the existence of the material world? With only the sensational philosophy I cannot! I can only *know* the facts of consciousness. I cannot pass from ideas to things, from psychology to ontology. Indeed there is no ontology, and I am certain only of my own consciousness. Bishop Berkeley, a thorough sensationalist, comes up with the inductive method in his hand, and annihilates the outward material world, annihilates mankind, leaves me nothing but my own consciousness, and no consciousness of any certainty there. Dr. Priestley, a thorough sensationalist, comes up with the same inductive method in his hand, and annihilates the spiritual world, annihilates the soul. Berkeley, with illogical charity, left me the soul as an existence, but stripped me of matter; I was certain I had a soul, not at all sure of my body. Priestley, as illogically, left me the body as an existence, but stripped me of the soul. Both of these gentlemen I see were entirely in the right, if their general maxim be granted; and so, between the two, I am left pretty much without soul or sense! Soul and body are philosophically hurled out of existence!

2. From its hypothetical world sensationalism proceeds to the laws of matter; but it cannot logically get beyond its facts. Newton says, "Gravitation prevails,— its power diminishing as the square of the distance increases between two bodies, so far as I have seen." "Is it so where you have not seen?" Newton

don't know; he cannot pass from a general law to a universal law. As the existence of the world is hypothetical, so the universality of laws of the world is only hypothetical universality. The Jesuits who edited the Prinicipia were wise men when they published them as an hypothesis.

The sensational philosophy has prevailed chiefly in England; that is the home of its ablest representatives, — Bacon, Locke. See the effect. England turns her attention to sciences that depend chiefly on observation, on experiment,— botany, chemistry, the descriptive part of astronomy, zoology, geology. England makes observations on the tides, on variations of the magnetic needle, on the stars; fits out exploring expeditions; learns the facts; looks after the sources of the Nile, the Niger; hunts up the North Pole; tests the strength of iron, wood, gunpowder; makes improvements in all the arts, in mechanics. But in metaphysics she does nothing; in the higher departments of physics — making comprehensive generalizations — she does little. Even in mathematics, after Newton, for a hundred years England fell behind the rest of Europe. She is great at experiment, little at pure thinking.

The sensational philosophy has no idea of cause, except that of empirical connection in time and place; no idea of substance, only of body, or form of substance; no ontology, but phenomenology. It refers all questions — say of the planets about the sun — to an outward force: when they were made, God, standing outside, gave them a push and set them a-going; or else their motion is the result of a fortuitous concourse of atoms, a blind fate. Neither conclusion is a philosophical conclusion, each an hypothesis. Its physics

are mere materialism; hence it delights in the atomistic theory of nature and repels the dynamic theory of matter. The sensationalist's physics appear well in a celebrated book, "The Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation." The book has many valuable things in it, but the philosophy of its physics is an unavoidable result of sensationalism. There is nothing but materialism in his world. All is material, effects material, causes material, his God material,—not surpassing the physical universe, but co-extensive therewith. In zoology life is the result of organization, but is an immanent life. In anthropology the mind is the result of organization, but is an immanent mind; in theology God is the result of organization, but is an immanent God. Life does not *transcend* organization, nor does mind, nor God. All is matter.

II. In politics. Sensationalism knows nothing of absolute right, absolute justice; only of historical right, historical justice. "There is nothing in the intellect which was not first in the senses." The senses by which we learn of justice and right are hearing and seeing. Do I reflect, and so get a righter right and juster justice than I have seen or heard of, it does me no good, for "nothing is in the intellect which was not in the senses." Thus absolute justice is only a whim, a no-thing, a dream. Men that talk of absolute justice, absolute right, are visionary men.

In politics, sensationalism knows nothing of ideas, only of facts; "the only lamp by which its feet are guided is the lamp of experience." All its facts are truths of observation, not of necessity. "There is no right but might," is the political philosophy of sensationalism. It may be the might of a king, of an aristocracy, of a democracy, the might of passions, the

might of intellect, the might of muscle,— it has a right to what it will. It appeals always to human history, not human nature. Now human history shows what has been, not what should be or will be. To reason about war it looks not to the natural justice, only to the cost and present consequences. To reason about free trade or protection, it looks not to the natural justice or right of mankind, but only to the present expediency of the thing. Political expediency is the only right or justice it knows in its politics. So it always looks back, and says " it worked well at Barcelona or Venice," or " did not work well." It loves to cite precedents out of history, not laws out of nature. It claims a thing not as a human right, but as an historical privilege received by Magna Charta or the Constitution; as if a right were more of a right because time-honored and written on parchment; or less, because just claimed and for the first time and by a single man. The sensationalist has no confidence in ideas, so asks for facts to hold on to and to guide him in his blindness. Said a governor in America, " The right of suffrage is universal." " How can that be," said a sensationalist, " when the Constitution of the state declares that certain persons shall not vote? " He knew no rights before they became constitutional, no rights but vested rights,— perhaps none but " *in*-vested."

The sensationalists in politics divide into two parties, each with the doctrine that in politics " might makes right." One party favors the despotism of the few,— is an oligarchy; or of the one,— is a monarchy. Hence the doctrine is, " The king can do no wrong." All power is his; he may delegate it to the people as a privilege; it is not theirs by right, by nature, and

his as a trust. He has a right to make any laws he will, not merely any just laws. The people must pay passive obedience to the king, he has eminent domain over them. The celebrated Thomas Hobbes is the best representative of this party, and has one great merit, — of telling what he thought.

The other party favors the despotism of the many, — is a democracy. The doctrine is, "The people can do no wrong." The majority of the people have the right to make any laws they will, not merely any just laws; and the minority must obey, right or wrong. You must not censure the measures of the majority, you afford "aid and comfort to the enemy." The state has absolute domain over the citizen, the majority over the minority; this holds good of the voters, and of any political party in the nation. For the majority has power of its own right, for its own behoof; not in trust, and for the good of all and each! The aim of sensational politics is the greatest good of the greatest number; this may be obtained by sacrificing the greatest good of the lesser number,— by sacrificing any individual,— or sacrificing absolute good. In No-man's-land this party prevails: the dark-haired men, over forty million,— the red-haired, only three million five hundred thousand,— the dark-haired enslave the red-haired for the greatest good of the greatest number. But in a hundred years the red-haired men are most numerous, and turn round and enslave the black-haired.

Thomas Paine is a good representative of this party; so is Marat, Robespierre, the author of the "Système de la Nature." [1] In the old French Revolution you see the legitimate consequence of this doctrine, that might makes right, that there is no absolute justice,

in the violence, the murder, the wholesale assassination. The nation did to masses, and in the name of democracy, what all kings had done to the nation and in the name of monarchy,— sought the greatest good of the controlling power at the sacrifice of an opponent. It is the same maxim which in cold blood hangs a single culprit, enslaves three million negroes, and butchers thousands of men as in the September massacres. The sensational philosophy established the theory that might makes right,— and the mad passions of a solitary despot, or a million-headed mob, made it a fact. Commonly the two parties unite by a compromise, and then it consults not the greatest good of its king alone, as in a brutal, pure monarchy; not of the greatest number, as in a pure and brutal democracy; but the greatest good of a class,— the nobility and gentry in England, the landed proprietors and rich burghers in Switzerland, the slaveholders in South Carolina. Voltaire is a good representative of this type of sensational politics, not to come nearer home. In peaceful times England shares the defect of the sensational school in politics. Her legislation is empirical; great ideas do not run through her laws; she loves a precedent better than a principle; appeals to an accidental fact of human history, not an essential fact of human nature which is prophetic. Hence legislative politics is not a great science which puts the facts of human consciousness into a state, making natural justice common law; nothing but a poor dealing with precedents, a sort of national housekeeping and not very thrifty housekeeping. In our own nation you see another example of the same,— result of the same sensational philosophy. There is no right, says Mr. Calhoun,[2] but might; the white man has that, so the black man

is his political prey. And Mr. Polk tells us that Vermont, under the Constitution, has the same right to establish slavery as Georgia to abolish it.

III. In ethics. Ethics are the morals of the individual; politics of the mass. The sensationalist knows no first truths in morals; the source of maxims in morals is experience; in experience there is no absolute right. Absolute justice, absolute right, were never in the senses, so not in the intellect; only whimsies, words in the mouth. The will is not free, but wholly conditioned, in bondage; character made always for you, not by you. The intellect is a smooth table; the moral power a smooth table; and experience writes there what she will, and what she writes is law of morality. Morality is expediency, nothing more; nothing is good of itself, right of itself, just of itself,— but only because it produces agreeable consequences, which are agreeable sensations. Dr. Paley is a good example of the sensational moralist. I ask him "What is right, just?" He says, "There are no such things; they are the names to stand for what works well in the long run." "How shall I know what to do in a matter of morals? by referring to a moral sense?" "Not at all: only by common sense, by observation, by experience, by learning what works well in the long run; by human history, not human nature. To make a complete code of morals by sensationalism you must take the history of mankind, and find what has worked well, and follow that because it worked well." "But human history only tells what has been and worked well, not what is right. I want what is right!" He answers, "It is pretty much the same thing." "But suppose the first men endowed with faculties perfectly developed, would they know what to do?" "Not at all. Instinct

would tell the beast antecedent to experience, but man has no moral instinct, must learn only by actual trial." "Well," say I, "let alone that matter, let us come to details. What is honesty?" "It is the best policy." "Why must I tell the truth, keep my word, be chaste, temperate?" "For the sake of the reward, the respect of your fellows, the happiness of a long life and heaven at last. On the whole God pays well for virtue; though slow pay, he is sure." "But suppose the devil paid the better pay?" "Then serve him, for the end is not the service, but the pay. Virtue, and by virtue I mean all moral excellence, is not a good in itself, but good as producing some other good." "Why should I be virtuous?" "For the sake of the reward." "But vice has its rewards, they are present and not future, immediate and certain, not merely contingent and mediate. I should think them greater than the reward of virtue." Then vice to you is virtue, for it pays best. The sensational philosophy knows no conscience to sound in the man's ears the stern word, Thou oughtest so to do, come what will come!

In politics might makes right, so in morals. Success is the touchstone; the might of obtaining the reward the right of doing the deed. Bentham represents the sensational morals of politics; Paley of ethics. Both are Epicureans. The sensationalist and the Epicurean agree in this,— enjoyment is the touchstone of virtue and determines what is good, what bad, what indifferent: this is the generic agreement. Heathen Epicurus spoke only of enjoyment in this life; Christian Archdeacon Paley — and a very *arch*deacon — spoke of enjoyment also in the next: this is the specific difference. In either case virtue ceases to be virtue, for it is only a bargain.

There is a school of sensationalists who turn off and say, "Oh, you cannot answer the moral questions and tell what is right, just, fair, good. We must settle that by revelation." That, of course, only adjourns the question and puts the decision on men who received the revelation or God who made it. They do not meet the philosopher's question; they assume that the difference between right and wrong is not knowable by human faculties, and, if there be any difference between right and wrong, there is no faculty in man which naturally loves right and abhors wrong, still less any faculty which can find out what *is* right, what wrong. So all moral questions are to be decided by authority, because somebody said so; not by reference to facts of consciousness, but to phenomena of history. Of course the moral law is not a law which is of me, rules in me and by me; only one put on me, which rules over me! Can any lofty virtue grow out of this theory? any heroism? Verily not. Regulus did not ask a reward for his virtue; if so, he made but a bargain, and who would honor him more than a desperate trader who made a good speculation? There is something in man which scoffs at expediency; which will do right, justice, truth, though hell itself should gape and bid him hold his peace; the morality which anticipates history, loves the right for itself. Of this Epicurus knew nothing, Paley nothing, Bentham nothing, sensationalism nothing. Sensationalism takes its standard of political virtue from the House of Commons; of right from the Constitution and common law; of commercial virtue from the board of brokers at their best, and the old bankrupt law; or virtue in general from the most comfortable classes of society, from human history, not human nature; and knows nothing more. The virtue

of a Regulus, of a Socrates, of a Christ, it knows not.

See the practical effect of this. "A young man goes into trade. Experience meets him with the sensationalist morals in its hand, and says, "'*Caveat emptor*, Let the buyer look to it, not you;' you must be righteous, young man, but not righteous overmuch; you must tell the truth to all who have the right to ask you, and when and where they have a right to ask you,— otherwise you may lie. The mistake is not in lying, or deceit; but in lying and deceiving to your own disadvantage. You must not set up a private conscience of your own in your trade, you will lose the confidence of respectable people. You must have a code of morals which works well and produces agreeable sensations in the long run. To learn the true morals of business you must not ask conscience, that is a whim and very unphilosophical. You must ask, How did Mr. Smith make his money? He cheated, and so did Mr. Brown and Mr. Jones, and they cheat all round. Then you must do the same, only be careful not to cheat so as to 'hurt your usefulness' and 'injure your reputation.'"

Shall I show the practical effects of this, not on very young men, in politics? It would hurt men's feelings, and I have no time for that.

IV. In religion. Sensationalism must have a philosophy of religion, a theology; let us see what theology. There are two parties; one goes by philosophy, the other mistrusts philosophy.

1. The first thing in theology is to know God. The idea of God is the touchstone of a theologian. Now to know the existence of God is to be certain thereof as of my own existence. "Nothing in the intellect which was not first in the senses," says sensationalism; "all comes by sensational experience and reflection thereon."

Sensationalism — does that give us the idea of God? I ask the sensationalist, "Does the sensational eye see God?" "No." "The ear hear him?" "No." "Do the organs of sense touch or taste him?" "No." "How then do you get the idea of God?" "By induction from facts of observation *a posteriori.* The senses deal with finite things; I reflect on them, put them all together I assume that they have *cause;* then by the inductive method I find out the character of that cause: that is God." Then I say, "But the senses deal with only finite things, so you must infer only a finite maker, else the induction is imperfect. So you have but a finite God. Then these finite things, measured only by my experience, are imperfect things. Look at disorders in the frame of nature; the sufferings of animals, the miseries of men; here are seeming imperfections which the sensational philosopher staggers at. But to go on with this induction: from an imperfect work you must infer an imperfect author. So the God of sensationalism is not only finite, but imperfect even at that. But am I certain of the existence of the finite and imperfect God? The existence of the outward world is only an hypothesis, its laws hypothetical; all that depends on that or them is but an hypothesis,— the truth of your faculties, the forms of matter only an hypothesis: so the existence of God is not a certainty; he is but our hypothetical God. But a hypothetical God is no God at all, not the living God: an imperfect God is no God at all, not the true God: a finite God is no God at all, not the absolute God. But this hypothetical, finite, imperfect God, where is he? In matter? No. In spirit? No. Does he act in matter or spirit? No, only now and then he did act by miracle; he is outside of the world of matter and

spirit. Then he is a non-resident, an absentee. A non-resident God is no God at all, not the all-present God."

The above is the theory on which Mr. Hume constructs his notion of God with the sensational philosophy, the inductive method; and he arrives at the hypothesis of a God, of a finite God, of an imperfect God, of a non-resident God. Beyond that the sensational philosophy as philosophy cannot go.

But another party comes out of the same school to treat of religious matters; they give their philosophy a vacation, and to prove the existence of God they go back to tradition, and say, "Once God revealed himself to the senses of men; they heard him, they saw him, they felt him; so to them the existence of God was not an induction, but a fact of observation; they told it to others, through whom it comes to us; we can say it is not a fact of observation but a fact of testimony."

"Well," I ask, "are you certain then?" "Yes." "Quite sure? Let me look. The man to whom God revealed himself may have been mistaken; it may have been a dream, or a whim of his own, perhaps a fib; at any rate, he was not philosophically certain of the existence of the outward world in general; how could he be of anything that took place in it? Next, the evidence which relates the transaction is not wholly reliable: how do I know the books which tell of it tell the truth, that they were not fabricated to deceive me? All that rests on testimony is a little uncertain if it took place one or two thousand years ago; especially if I know nothing about the persons who testify or of that whereof they testify; still more so if it be a thing, as you say, unphilosophical and even supernatural."

So, then, the men who give a vacation to their

philosophy have slurred the philosophical argument for a historical, the theological for the mythological, and have gained nothing except the tradition of God. By this process we are as far from the infinite God as before, and have only arrived at the same point where the philosophy left us.

The English Deists and the Socinians and others have approached religion with the sensational philosophy in their hands; we are to learn of God philosophically only by induction. And such is their God. They tell us that God is not knowable; the existence of God is not a certainty to us; it is a probability, a credibility, a possibility,—a certainty to none. You ask of sensationalism, the greatest question, "Is there a God?" Answer: "Probably." "What is his character?" "Finite, imperfect." "Can I trust him?" "If we consult tradition it is creditable; if philosophy, possible."

2. The next great question in theology is that of the immortality of the soul. That is a universal hope of mankind; what does it rest on? Can I know my immortality? Here are two wings of the sensational school. The first says, "No, you cannot know it; it is not true. Mind, soul, are two words to designate the result of organization. Man is not a mind, not a soul, not a free will. Man is a body, with blood, brains, nerves — nothing more; the organization gone, all is gone." Now that is sound, logical, consistent; that was the conclusion of Hume, of many of the English Deists, and of many French philosophers in the last century; they looked the fact in the face. But mortality, annihilation, is rather an ugly fact to look fairly in the face; but Mr. Hume and others have done it, and died brave with the sensational philosophy.

The other wing of the sensational school gives its philosophy another vacation, rests the matter not on philosophy but history; not on the theological but the mythological argument; on authority of tradition asserting a phenomenon of human history, they try to establish the immortality of man by a single precedent, a universal law by the tradition of a single, empirical, contingent phenomenon.

But I ask the sensational philosopher, "Is immortality certain?" "No." "Probable?" "No." "Credible?" "No." "Possible?" "Barely." I ask the traditional division, "Is immortality certain?" "No, it is left uncertain to try your faith." "Is it probable?" "Yes, there is one witness in six thousand years, one out of ten million times ten million." "Well, suppose it is probable; is immortality, if it be sure to be a good thing, for me, for mankind?" "Not at all! There is nothing in the nature of man, nothing in the nature of the world, nothing in the nature of God to make you sure immortality will prove a blessing to mankind in general, to yourself in special!"

3. That is not quite all. Sensationalism does not allow freedom of the will; I say not, absolute freedom — that belongs only to God,— but it allows no freedom of the will. See the result: all will is God's, all willing therefore is equally divine, and the worst vice of Pantheism follows. "But what is the will of God, is that free?" "Not at all; man is limited by the organization of his body, God by the organization of the universe." So God is not absolute God, not absolutely free; and as man's will is necessitated by God's, so God's will by the universe of matter; and only a boundless fate and pitiless encircles man and God.

This is the philosophy of sensationalism; such its doctrine in physics, politics, ethics, religion. It leads to boundless uncertainty. Berkeley resolves the universe into subjective ideas; no sensationalist knows a law in physics to be universal. Hobbes and Bentham and Condillac in politics know of no right but might; Priestley denies the spirituality of man, Collins and Edwards his liberty; Dodwell affirms the materiality of the soul, and the mortality of all men not baptized; Mandeville directly, and others indirectly, deny all natural distinction between virtue and vice; Archdeacon Paley knows no motive but expediency.

The materialist is puzzled with the existence of matter; finds its laws general, not universal. The sensational philosophy meets the politician and tells him through Rousseau [3] and others, "Society has no divine original, only the social compact; there is no natural justice, natural right; no right, but might; no greater good than the greatest good of the greatest number, and for that you may sacrifice all you will; to defend a constitution is better than to defend justice." In morals the sensational philosophy meets the young man and tells him all is uncertain; he had better be content with things as they are, himself as he is; to protest against a popular wrong is foolish, to make money by it, or ease, or power, is a part of wisdom; only the fool is wise above what is written. It meets the young minister with its proposition that the existence of God is not a certainty, nor the immortality of the soul; that religion is only traditions of the elders and the keeping of a form. It says to him, "Look there, Dr. Humdrum has got the tallest pulpit and the quietest pews, the fattest living and the cosiest nook in all the land; how do you think he won it? Why, by letting well-

enough alone; he never meddles with sin; it would break his heart to hurt a sinner's feelings,— he might lose a parishioner; he never dreams to make the world better, or better off. Go thou and do likewise."

I come now to the other school. This is distinguished by its chief metaphysical doctrine, that there is in the intellect (or consciousness), something that never was in the senses, to wit, the intellect (or consciousness) itself; that man has faculties which transcend the senses; faculties which give him ideas and intuitions that transcend sensational experience; ideas whose origin is not from sensation, nor their proof from sensation. This is the transcendental school. They maintain that the mind (meaning thereby all which is not sense) is not a smooth tablet on which sensation writes its experience, but is a living principle which of itself originates ideas when the senses present the occasion; that, as there is a body with certain senses, so there is a soul or mind with certain powers which give the man sentiments and ideas. This school maintains that it is a fact of consciousness itself that there is in the intellect somewhat that was not first in the senses; and also that they have analyzed consciousness, and by the inductive method established the conclusion that there is a consciousness that never was sensation, never could be; that our knowledge is in part *a priori;* that we know, 1, certain truths of necessity; 2, certain truths of intuition, or spontaneous consciousness; 3, certain truths of demonstration, a voluntary consciousness; all of these truths not dependent on sensation for cause, origin, or proof. Facts of observation, sensational experience, it has in common with the other school.

Transcendentalism, also, reports itself in the four great departments of human activity—in physics, politics, ethics, religion.

I. In physics it starts with the maxim that the senses acquaint us actually with body, and therefrom the mind gives us the idea of substance, answering to an objective reality. Thus is the certainty of the material world made sure of. Then *a priori* it admits the uniformity of the action of nature; and its laws are *a priori* known to be universal, and not general alone. These two doctrines it finds as maxims resulting from the nature of man, facts given. Then it sets out with other maxims, first truths, which are facts of necessity, known to be such without experience. All the first truths of mathematics are of this character, *e.g.*, that the whole is greater than a part. From these, by the deductive method, it comes at other facts,— facts of demonstration; these also are transcendental, that is, transcend the senses, transcend the facts of observation. For example, the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles,— that is universally true; it is a fact of demonstration, and is a deduction from a first truth which is self-evident, a fact of necessity. But here the fact of demonstration transcends the fact of experience, philosophy is truer than sensation. The whole matter of geometry is transcendental.

Transcendentalism does not take a few facts out of human history and say they are above nature; all that appears in nature it looks on as natural, not supernatural, not subternatural; so the distinction between natural and supernatural does not appear. By this means philosophy is often in advance of observation; *e.g.*, Newton's law of gravitation, Kepler's third law, the theory that a diamond might be burned, and

Berkeley's theory of vision,— these are interpretations of nature, but also anticipations of nature, as all true philosophy must be. Those men, however, did not philosophically know it to be so. So by an actual law of nature, not only are known facts explained, but the unknown anticipated.

Evils have come from the transcendental method in physics; men have scorned observation, have taken but a few facts from which to learn universal laws, and so failed of getting what is universal, even general. They have tried to divine the constitution of the world, to do without sensational experience in matters where knowledge depends on that and that is the *sine quâ non*. The generalizations of the transcendental naturalists have been often hasty; they attempt to determine what nature shall be, not to learn what nature is. Thus a famous philosopher said there are only seven primary planets in the solar system, and from the nature of things, *a priori* known, it is impossible there should be more. He had intelligence in advance of the mail; but the mail did not confirm, for six months afterwards Dr. Piazzi discovered one of the asteroids; and in a few years three more were found, and now several more have been discovered, not to mention the new planet Neptune. Many of the statements of Schelling in physics are of this same character.

II. In politics, transcendentalism starts not from experience alone, but from consciousness; not merely from human history, but also from human nature. It does not so much quote precedents, contingent facts of experience, as ideas, necessary facts of consciousness. It only quotes the precedent to obtain or illustrate the idea. It appeals to a natural justice, natural right; absolute justice, absolute right. Now the source and

original of this justice and right it finds in God — the conscience of God; the channel through which we receive this justice and right is our own moral sense, our conscience, which is our consciousness of the conscience of God. This conscience in politics and in ethics transcends experience, and *a priori* tells us of the just, the right, the good, the fair; not the relatively right alone, but absolute right also. As it transcends experience, so it anticipates history; and the ideal justice of conscience is juster than the empirical and contingent justice actually exercised at Washington or at Athens, as the ideal circle is rounder than one the stone-cutter scratches on his rough seal. In transcendental politics the question of expediency is always subordinate to the question of natural right; it asks not merely about the cost of a war, but its natural justice. It aims to organize the ideals of man's moral and social nature into political institutions; to have a government which shall completely represent the facts of man's social consciousness so far as his nature is now developed. But as this development is progressive, so must government be; yet not progressive by revolution, by violence; but by harmonious development, progressive by growth. The transcendental politician does not merely interpret history, and look back to Magna Charta and the Constitution; but into human nature, through to divine nature; and so anticipates history, and in man and God finds the origin and primary source of all just policy, all right legislation. So looking he transcends history.

For example, the great political idea of America, the idea of the Declaration of Independence, is a composite idea made up of three simple ones: 1. Each man is endowed with certain unalienable rights. 2. In respect

of these rights all men are equal. 3. A government is to protect each man in the entire and actual enjoyment of all the unalienable rights. Now the first two ideas represent ontological facts, facts of human consciousness; they are facts of necessity. The third is an idea derived from the two others, is a synthetic judgment *a priori;* it was not learned from sensational experience; there never was a government which did this, nor is there now. Each of the other ideas transcended history: every unalienable right has been alienated, still is; no two men have been actually equal in actual rights. Yet the idea is true, capable of proof by human nature, not of verification by experience; as true as the proposition that three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles; but no more capable of a sensational proof than that. The American Revolution, with American history since, is an attempt to prove by experience this transcendental proposition, to organize the transcendental idea of politics. The idea demands for its organization a democracy — a government of all, for all, and by all; a government by natural justice, by legislation that is divine as much as a true astronomy is divine, legislation which enacts law representing a fact of the universe, a resolution of God.

All human history said, "That cannot be." Human nature said, "It can, must, shall." The authors of the American Revolution, as well as the fathers of New England, were transcendentalists to that extent. America had such faith in the idea that she made the experiment in part. She will not quite give up yet. But there is so much of the sensational philosophy in her politics that in half the land the attempt is not made at all, the composite idea is denied, each of the simple

ideas is also denied; and in the other half it is but poorly made.

In France men have an idea yet more transcendental; to the intellectual idea of liberty, and the moral idea of equality, they add the religious idea of fraternity, and so put politics and all legislation on a basis divine and incontestable as the truths of mathematics. They say that rights and duties are before all human laws and above all human laws. America says, "The Constitution of the United States is above the President, the Supreme Court above Congress." France says, "The Constitution of the Universe is above the Constitution of France." Forty million people say that. It transcends experience. The grandest thing a nation ever said in history.

The transcendental politician does not say that might makes right, but that there is an immutable morality for nations as for men. Legislation must represent that, or the law is not binding on any man. By birth man is a citizen of the universe, subject to God; no oath of allegiance, no king, no parliament, no congress, no people, can absolve him from his natural fealty thereto, and alienate a man born to the rights, born to the duties, of a citizen of God's universe. Society, government, politics come not from a social compact which men made and may unmake, but from a social nature of God's making; a nation is to be self-ruled by justice. In a monarchy, the king holds power as a trust, not a right: in a democracy, the people have it as a right, the majority as a trust; but the minority have lost no right, can alienate none, delegate none beyond power of ultimate recall. A nation has a right to make just laws, binding because just. Justice is the point common to one man and the world of men, the balance-

point. A nation is to seek the greatest good of all, not of the greatest number; not to violate the constitution of the universe, not sacrifice the minority to the majority, nor one single man to the whole. But over all human law God alone has eminent domain.

Here too is a danger: the transcendental politician may seek to ignore the past, and scorn its lessons; may take his own personal whims for oracles of human nature; and so he may take counsel from the selfishness of lazy men against the selfishness of active men, counsel from the selfishness of poor men against the selfishness of rich men, and think he hears the voice of justice, or the reverse, as himself is rich or poor, active or idle; there is danger that he be rash and question as hastily in politics as in physics, and reckon without his host, to find that the scot is not free when the day of reckoning comes.

III. In ethics. Transcendentalism affirms that man has moral faculties which lead him to justice and right, and by his own nature can find out what is right and just, and can know it and be certain of it. Right is to be done come what will come. I am not answerable for the consequences of doing right, only of not doing it, only of doing wrong. The conscience of each man is to him the moral standard; so to mankind is the conscience of the race. In morals conscience is complete and reliable as the eye for colors, the ear for sounds, the touch and taste for their purposes. While experience shows what has been or is, conscience shows what should be and shall.

Transcendental ethics look not to the consequences of virtue, in this life or the next, as motive, therefore, to lead men to virtue. That is itself a good, an absolute good, to be loved not for what it brings, but is. It

represents the even poise or balance-point between individual and social development. To know what is right, I need not ask what is the current practice, what say the Revised Statutes, what said holy men of old, but what says conscience? what, God? The common practice, the Revised Statutes, the holy men of old are helps, not masters. I am to be co-ordinate with justice.

Conscience transcends experience, and not only explains but anticipates that, and the transcendental system of morals is to be founded on human nature and absolute justice.

I am to respect my own nature and be an individual man,— your nature and be a social man. Truth is to be told and asked, justice done and demanded, right claimed and allowed, affection felt and received. The will of man is free; not absolutely free as God's, but partially free, and capable of progress to yet higher degrees of freedom.

Do you ask an example of a transcendental moralist? A scheme of morals was once taught to mankind wholly transcendental, the only such scheme that I know. In that was no alloy of expediency, no deference to experience, no crouching behind a fact of human history to hide from ideas of human nature; a scheme of morals which demands that you be you — I, I; balances individualism and socialism on the central point of justice; which puts natural right, natural duty, before all institutions, all laws, all traditions. You will pardon me for mentioning the name of Jesus of Nazareth in a lecture. But the whole of human history did not justify his ethics; only human nature did that. Hebrew ethics, faulty in detail, were worse in method and principle, referring all to an outward command, not

an inward law. Heathen ethics less faulty in detail, not less in principles, referred all to experience and expediency, knew only what was, and what worked well here or there; not what ought to be, and worked well anywhere and forever. He transcended that, taught what should be, must, shall, and forever.

The danger is that the transcendental moralist shall too much abhor the actual rules of morality; where much is bad and ill-founded, shall deem all worthless. Danger, too, that he take a transient impulse, personal and fugitive, for a universal law; follow a passion for a principle, and come to naught; surrender his manhood, his free will to his unreflecting instinct, become subordinate thereto. Men that are transcendental-mad we have all seen in morals; to be transcendental-wise, sober, is another thing. The notion that every impulse is to be followed, every instinct totally obeyed, will put man among the beasts, not angels.

IV. In religion. Transcendentalism admits a religious faculty, element, or nature in man, as it admits a moral, intellectual and sensational faculty,— that man by nature is a religious being as well as moral, intellectual, sensational; that this religious faculty is adequate to its purposes and wants, as much so as the others, as the eye acquainting us with light; and that this faculty is the source of religious emotions, of the sentiments of adoration, worship. Through this we have consciousness of God as through the senses consciousness of matter. In connection with reason it gives us the primary ideas of religion, ideas which transcend experience.

Now the transcendental philosophy legitimates the ideas of religion by reference to human nature. Some of them it finds truths of necessity, which cannot be

conceived of as false or unreal without violence to reason; some it finds are truths of consciousness,— of spontaneous consciousness, or intuition; some, truths of voluntary consciousness, or demonstration, inductive or deductive. Such ideas, capable of this legitimation, transcend experience, require and admit no further proof; as true before experience as after; true before time, after time, eternally; absolutely true. On that rock transcendentalism founds religion, sees its foundation, and doubts no more of religious truths than of the truths of mathematics. All the truths of religion it finds can be verified in consciousness to-day, what cannot is not religion. But it does not neglect experience. In human history it finds confirmations, illustrations, of the ideas of human nature, for history represents the attempt of mankind to develop human nature. So then as transcendentalism in philosophy legitimates religion by a reference to truths of necessity, to truths of consciousness, it illustrates religion by facts of observation, facts of testimony.

By sensationalism religious faith is a belief, more or less strange, in a probability, a credibility, a possibility. By transcendentalism religious faith is the normal action of the whole spiritual nature of man, which gives him certain knowledge of a certainty not yet attainable by experience; where understanding ends, faith begins, and out-travels the understanding. Religion is natural to man, is justice, piety — free justice, free piety, free thought. The form thereof should fit the individual; hence there will be a unity of substance, diversity of form. So a transcendental religion demands a transcendental theology.

1. The transcendental philosophy appears in its doctrine of God. The idea of God is a fact given in the

consciousness of man; consciousness of the infinite is the condition of a consciousness of the finite. I learn of a finite thing by sensation, I get an idea thereof; at the same time the idea of the infinite unfolds in me. I am not conscious of my own existence except as a finite existence, that is, as a dependent existence; and the idea of the infinite, of God on whom I depend, comes at the same time as the logical correlative of a knowledge of myself. So the existence of God is a certainty; I am as certain of that as of my own existence. Indeed without that knowledge I know nothing. Of this I am certain,— I am; but of this as certain,— God is; for if I am, and am finite and dependent, then this presupposes the infinite and independent. So the idea of God is *a priori;* rests on facts of necessity, on facts of consciousness.

Then transcendentalism uses the other mode, the *a posteriori.* Starting with the infinite, it finds signs and proofs of him everywhere, and gains evidence of God's existence in the limits of sensational observation; the thing refers to its maker, the thought to the mind, the effect to the cause, the created to the creator, the finite to the infinite; at the end of my arms are two major prophets, ten minor prophets, each of them pointing the transcendental philosopher to the infinite God, of which he has consciousness without the logical process of induction.

Then the character of God as given in the idea of him, given in consciousness,— that represents God as a being, not with the limitations of impersonality (that is to confound God with matter); not with the limitations of personality (that confounds him with man); but God with no limitations, infinite, absolute; looked at from sensation, infinite power; from thought, in-

finite intellect; from the moral sense, infinite conscience; from the emotional, infinite affection; from the religious, infinite soul; from all truth, the whole human nature names him Infinite Father!

God is immanent in matter, so it is; immanent in spirit, so it is. He acts also as God in matter and spirit, acts perfectly; laws of matter or of spirit are modes of God's acting, being; as God is perfect, so the mode of his action is perfect and unchangeable. Therefore, as God is ever in matter and spirit, and where God is is wholly God active, so no intervention is possible. God cannot come where he already is, so no miracle is possible. A miracle *a parte humanâ* is a violation of what is a law to man; a miracle to God — *a parte divinâ* — is a violation of what is law to God: the most extraordinary things that have been seem miracles *a parte humanâ*, — laws, *a parte divinâ*. But though God is immanent in matter and in spirit, he yet transcends both matter and spirit, has no limitations. Indeed all perfection of immanence and transcendence belong to him, — the perfection of existence, infinite being; the perfection of space, immensity; the perfection of time, eternity; of power, all-mightiness; of mind, all-knowingness; of affection, all-lovingness; of will, absolute freedom, absolute justice, absolute right. His providence is not merely general, but universal, so special in each thing. Hence the universe partakes of his perfection, is a perfect universe for the end he made it for.

2. The doctrine of the soul. This teaches that man by nature is immortal. This doctrine it legitimates: 1. By reference to facts of consciousness that men feel in general; in the heart it finds the longing after immortality, in the mind the idea of immortality, in religious

consciousness the faith in immortality, in human nature altogether the strong confidence and continued trust therein. 2. It refers also to the nature of God, and reasons thus: God is all-powerful and can do the best; all-wise, and can know it; all-good, and must will it; immortality is the best, therefore it is. All this anticipates experience *a priori*. 3. It refers to the general arrangements of the world, where everything gets ripe, matures, but man. In the history of mankind it finds confirmation of this doctrine, for every rude race and all civilized tribes have been certain of immortality; but here and there are men, sad and unfortunate, who have not by the mind legitimated the facts of spontaneous consciousness, whose nature the sensational philosophy has made blind, and they doubt or deny what nature spontaneously affirms.

The nature of God being such, he immanent and active in matter and spirit; the nature of man such, so provided with faculties to love the true, the just, the fair, the good, — it follows that man is capable of inspiration from God, communion with God; not in raptures, not by miracle, but by the sober use of all his faculties, moral, intellectual, affectional, religious. The condition thereof is this, the faithful use of human nature, the coincidence of man's will with God's. Inspiration is proportionate to the man's quantity of being, made up of a constant and a variable, his quantity of gifts, his quantity of faithful use. In this way transcendentalism can legitimate the highest inspiration, and explain the genius of God's noblest son, not as monstrous, but natural. In religion as in all things else there has been a progressive development of mankind. The world is a school, prophets, saints, saviours, men more eminently gifted and faithful, and so most

eminently inspired, — they are the school-masters to lead men up to God.

There is danger in this matter also lest the transcendental religionist should despise the past and its sober teachings, should take a fancy personal and fugitive for a fact of universal consciousness, embrace a cloud for an angel, and miserably perish. It is not for man to transcend his faculties, to be above himself, above reason, conscience, affection, religious trust. It is easy to turn off from these and be out of reason, conscience, affection, religion — beside himself. Madmen in religion are not rare, enthusiasts, fanatics.

The sensational philosophy, with all its evils, has done the world great service. It has stood up for the body, for common sense, protested against spiritual tyranny, against the spiritualism of the middle ages which thought the senses wicked and the material world profane. To sensationalism we are indebted for the great advance of mankind in physical science, in discovery, arts, mechanics, and for many improvements in government. Some of its men are great names, — Bacon, Locke, Newton. Let us do them no dishonor; they saw what they could, told it; they saw not all things that are, saw some which are not. In our day no one of them would be content with the philosophy they all agreed in then. Hobbes and Hume have done us service; the Socinians, Priestley, Collins, Berkeley, Dodwell, Mandeville, Edwards. To take the good and leave the ill is our part; but the doubts which this philosophy raises, the doubt of Hume, the doubt of Hobbes, of the English Deists in general, do not get answered by this philosophy. For this we have weapons forged by other hands, tempered in another spring.

Transcendentalism has a work to do, to show that physics, politics, ethics, religion rest on facts of necessity, facts of intuition, facts of demonstration, and have their witness and confirmation in facts of observation. It is the work of transcendentalism to give us politics which represent God's thought of a state, — the whole world, each man free; to give us morals which leave the man a complete individual, no chord rent from the human harp, — yet complete in his social character, no string discordant in the social choir; to give us religion worthy of God and man, — free goodness, free piety, free thought. That is not to be done by talking at random, not by idleness, not by railing at authority, calumniating the past or the present; not by idle brains with open mouth, who outrage common sense; but by diligent toil, brave discipline, patience to wait, patience to work. Nothing comes of nothing, foolishness of fools; but something from something, wise thought from thinking men; and of the wise thought comes a lovely deed, life, laws, institutions for mankind.

The problem of transcendental philosophy is no less than this, to revise the experience of mankind and try its teachings by the nature of mankind; to test ethics by conscience, science by reason; to try the creeds of the churches, the constitutions of the states by the constitution of the universe; to reverse what is wrong, supply what is wanting, and command the just. To do this in a nation like ours, blinded still by the sensational philosophy, devoted chiefly to material interests, its politics guided by the madness of party more than sober reason; to do this in a race like the Anglo-Saxon, which has an obstinate leaning to a sensational philosophy, which loves facts of experience, not ideas of consciousness, and believes not in the First-Fair, First-

Perfect, First-Good, is no light work; not to be taken in hand by such as cannot bear the strife of tongues, the toil, the heat, the war of thought; not to be accomplished by a single man, however well-born and well-bred; not by a single age and race. It has little of history behind, for this philosophy is young. It looks to a future, a future to be made; a church whose creed is truth, whose worship love; a society full of industry and abundance, full of wisdom, virtue, and the poetry of life; a state with unity among all, with freedom for each; a church without tyranny, a society without ignorance, want, or crime, a state without oppression; yes, a world with no war among the nations to consume the work of their hands, and no restrictive policy to hinder the welfare of mankind. That is the human dream of the transcendental philosophy. Shall it ever become a fact? History says, No; human nature says, Yes.

II

ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS AND RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS

Religion is one of the most important of the concerns of man. It comes from the deepest and most powerful of all our spiritual faculties. More than any one element of consciousness it helps mould the character of the individual and the nation. The ideas we form of God, of man, of the relation between them, of the mode of learning our religious duty, and of our final condition in the future world — these affect all the concerns of the nation. For they found institutions which shape the politics, the business, and the literature of the people, so ultimately determining their condition for weal and woe. The theology of Spain is one of the prime causes of her ruin; American slavery not only has one of its roots in the selfishness of the planter and the politician, but also another under the meeting-house, where it is watered by the eaves-droppings of the popular theology. At the opening of a new place for religious meetings, which is already consecrated thereunto by your presence and the prayer of your heart, I ask your attention to some thoughts on the relation between the theological institutions and the religious consciousness of the American people.

In the historical progress of many thousand years, out of material nature man has developed all the visible property of the ten hundred million inhabitants of earth. Thence come the pastures, farms, and gardens; the houses, markets, temples, roads of earth, wood,

stone, or iron; the towns and cities, the forts and fleets; all the tools of industry or destruction; the instruments for use; the ornaments for beauty. All these are of human creation — thoughts organized in things. Man's mind is their father; the world of matter is the mother thereof. God made us spirit; he gives us matter, and thence have we made all these things which constitute the world of art.

This world of art, thought organized in matter, contains at present two parts: First, What we inherit — our traditional part; and second, What we create — our original part. The traditional requires to be looked over anew. Some of it is of present value and will last longer, perhaps for ever; some of it is no more fit for present use, but must be left to perish, the new and better taking its place. When Xerxes invaded Europe draw-bows were his best weapons of attack, his arrows darkened the air of Thermopylæ; now the allied armies at Sebastopol have not a bow-string in all their scientific camp. Once a hatchet of stone was mankind's best tool for creative industry; now axes of steel have driven the tomahawk out of all markets.

All this world of art shares the progress of man; becomes greater in quantity, nicer in quality. It is amenable to perpetual improvement; is revised continually, the good kept, the useless left to perish. Time winnows all harvests with rugged breath — great clouds of chaff go flying all abroad, while the useful grain is thankfully gathered up. The highway of history is marked by works abandoned, tools that have served out their time, superseded, disbanded, left alone.

This all men agree to. None refuses bread because his father once fed on acorns and beech-nuts; no

woman disdains to ride well-clad in a railroad car, because her mothers only walked, and that barefoot and naked. And what an odds between the savage's world of art and yours to-day; between this "Indian country" of 1555, and the Pennsylvania of 1855! All this difference comes from the civilized thought mixed with the savage world of matter. The advance is progression by experiment, wherein many attempts fail. Of all the inventions recorded in the Patent Office, how few are adopted into permanent use! the rest are winnowed off as chaff. But without the straw there could have been no corn.

In his historic progress, out of human nature man develops feelings, thoughts, and actions, and thence forms institutions, art, languages, laws, sciences, states, societies, and the like. All these together make up the world of institutions. A machine is a contrivance of thought organized in matter; an institution a contrivance of thought organized in man. Of each there are many forms.

All the feelings, all the thoughts, all the actions, with all the manifold institutions of these thousand million men now on earth, have grown out of human nature, and correspond to the degree of man's progressive culture thereof; just as all the vegetation of the earth has grown out of its soil, and represents its climate, the richness of the ground and the advance of the season, all varying continually. Since the world was created all vegetation has been domestic development, not foreign importation; not a camomile flower, not an apple-seed has been brought in from abroad or could have been. These institutions have come partly from the instincts of men acting blindly, not knowing

whither they went; partly also from deliberate affection and conscious will, men setting a purpose and then devising means for that end. But all these institutions are of human origin, as much so as the machines; the family and the state not less than the axe of stone or iron, the farm or the railroad.

In our world of institutions there are also two parts — the inherited, and the newly created. Each partakes of the character of the age whence it came. The traditional must be revised; some of it is good for the present, nay, for all time; some must be left to perish. The original will be winnowed in the same way by such as come after us. Once the polygamous family of the savage, with his captive wives whom force subordinated to him but no mutual love conjoined, was the best domestic institution of mankind. A military despotism was once the best tool man had devised for political work. Where are such things now? Human history is marked by the institutions cast off and left behind. What once is borne as the banner in front of humanity, the symbol of its purpose and the gathering point of its heroes, is one day thrown down in the dust as a worthless rag, and trodden by the rear-guard, nay, by the very stragglers of mankind. How many "settled opinions" of philosophers have perished; how much "immortal literature" has gone to the ground; while laws of Medes and Persians have been repealed by the supreme court of time, and become obsolete and forgotten by humanity. You may trace man's path through time as space by what he abandons. Ancient arrows and pestles are turned up by the farmer's plough, ancient policies and philosophies by the spade of the scholar; forms of the family or of the state successively built up out of human nature and suc-

cessively crumbling down. In two thousand years the most progressive portion of the Anglo-Saxon tribe has left behind it absolute monarchy, limited monarchy, and aristocracy. In thirty or forty thousand years how much has the human race passed by! All these institutions, like the machines of the world of art, are amenable to perpetual improvement, subject to continual revision in the progressive development of mankind. You and I are not ashamed of a democracy because our fathers once swore allegiance to William the Conqueror, or patiently bore the yoke of Henry VIII.

What a difference between the savage's world of institutions and that of the civilized man; between this "Indian country" of 1555, and the Pennsylvania of to-day, with your world of institutions, arts, sciences, literature — domestic, social, and political customs. But all of this comes out of human nature, one attempt made after the other, many failing. Here also the advance is through progression by experiment. Look over the seventy volumes of statutes of the British realm — through the history of medicine or machinery — see how much has become worthless, obsolete, and worn-out: laws lying there like spent bullets flattened out and rusted through; engines exploded long ago; medicines which humanity no longer swallows down; these are the potsherds and arrow-heads which mark the track of mankind. Half the weeds of our fields were brought here as herbs indispensable to man.

In an institution the chief thing to look at is the idea it represents, the primordial thought; for that is the human mould in which the human substance of the institution is cast, and as the sheep are filled "according to their pasture," so the institution is like the idea which

controls its shape. In thought you melt away all the matter of the solar system, conceiving of the sun and planets as mere mathematic points of force, and by this abstraction you can easier understand the mechanism of the heavens. In like manner, from institutions you may dissolve away the men who form them or are formed thereby, and consider only the ideas they represent, and by this abstraction the easier and better understand the mechanism of humanity.

In all nations above the mere naked wild man, you find sentiments, ideas, and actions, which have come from the religious element in human nature. Let the word religion stand here for the service and worship which man pays to his conception of God, whatever that may be. Theology is the science of religion. The intellect, reflecting on facts of religious consciousness, or on observations thereof in others, produces theology, just as it produces science from facts of consciousness and from facts of observation in the material world. The ideas which men form on what pertains to religion get organized into peculiar forms.

Let me call them ecclesiastical institutions. They are different in the various nations, and vary in the same nation with its condition and culture. For, as the products of vegetation are not the same in any two zones, or counties, but follow the geographical peculiarities of climate, position, soil, and the like, so the ecclesiastical institutions — a product of the religious element — in form and substance depend upon the ethnographic peculiarities of the race, the tribe, and nation, and vary with the degree of civilization and general culture. So the theological ideas of various nations, with the ecclesiastical institutions

thence arising, differ as much as the faunas and floras of various countries.

These ecclesiastical institutions, including therein all the emotions, ideas, and actions they embody, are of human origin. They are the contrivances which man makes for his purpose, his machinery of religion; the substance and the form are alike human. But as the object of religious reverence is divine, not human, so it comes to be alleged that these institutions come down straightway from God. Astronomy deals with the stars, and navigation with the deep: shall it then be said that Newton's Principia and Blunt's Coast Pilot came miraculous, the one from the heavens and the other from the sea? It were not more absurd. It does not appear that any foreign element of thought has been added to man's consciousness since the first creation. There is perpetual development from within, no importation from another sphere. As the world of material nature was fashioned as a perfect means for a perfect purpose, so the world of human nature is equally adequate for its Creator's design, neither getting nor needing additions from any foreign source. All that is in human consciousness originated there, from man's contact with his surroundings, and from himself.

There is one great idea common to all ecclesiastical institutions: the idea of God, the divine above the human. All nations, above the wild man, agree in this point — There is a God; but differ in the character and conduct they ascribe to him. They agree as to his being, and differ as to his being this or that. For, as the plants of Nova Zembla differ from those of Sumatra, not less do the theological ideas of the

savage differ from those of the civilized and enlightened. There are zones of religious as of material vegetation, arctic and tropical.

In ecclesiastical institutions there is something which is general human, and belongs to all forms of religion coming from nations in that stage of development; and also something else peculiar to the particular people. So all men agree in what makes them men, but differ in what makes one John and the other James. In the last four or five thousand years there have been seven great forms of religion, or ecclesiastical institutions, in the world, — the Vedantic, Old Indian of South Asia; the Hebrew; the Classic, Greek and Roman; the Zoroastrian; the Buddhistic; the Christian; and the Mahometan, which have had a wide and deep influence on the welfare of mankind. They all have some things in common, while in others they widely differ.

The religious element — call it the soul — begins its activity with emotions, mere feelings; these lead to thoughts, and they to actions; and thus, little by little, ecclesiastical institutions get formed, the human instrument or machinery for expressing the idea, embodying the action, and thus attaining the object of the religious emotion. These institutions, like all others, are of gradual formation. Their influence, for good or ill, depends on the character of the idea embodied therein, and on their fitness for the special nation who accepts it. It is machinery in the human mill. When an ecclesiastical institution is fixed, and incapable of progressive amendment to suit the advancing consciousness of the people, it is a curse; and the nation which continually submits to it is first

hindered and finally destroyed thereby. But while nations perish, mankind still survives; as the ocean endures for ever, while wave after wave rises successive and successive falls. If Spain be spiritually dead — the once noble tree killed by clipping its limbs, and girdling its trunk, and boring into its root — other trees spring out of the procreant earth and grow to mighty columns of green beauty. A living and progressive nation is continually altering its ecclesiastic institutions, as it improves its other machinery, industrial or political. Thus three thousand years ago the ecclesiastic institutions of the Teutonic people represented the old pagan ideas of divinity, and suited the worship of Thor, Odin, or Hertha; the Teutons outgrew this form of religion, and accepted the Roman Christian ideas, with the Roman Christian institutions; these were at length passed by, and now most of the Teutons have accepted the German Christian ideas with the corresponding institutions, and are preparing for another progressive step.

Now in our present ecclesiastical institutions there is an inherited and a newly-created part; the old must be revised, for while it contains what is true, and, therefore, permanently good and fair, it has also things good for once but not good for ever, and others not good at all. What fits must be kept, the rest cast off. For the ecclesiastical institutions, like all other human contrivances, are amenable to perpetual improvement, and must be made to represent the total development of the nation which accepts and retains them.

There are now three great ecclesiastical institutions which occupy the civilized and half-civilized parts of

the world, — the Buddhistic, the Christian, the Mahometan. These represent the three great world-sects into which the foremost nations are now divided. The Christian is made up of Hebrew, Zoroastrian, and classic elements; it contains also some things derived from Jesus of Nazareth, and many more from Paul of Tarsus, who systematized what Jesus begun; and yet others, added from various sources since his time.

There are two things which pass under the name of "Christianity." One is natural piety and morality — the love of God and the keeping of his commandments; I will here call this the Christian religion. The other is a scheme of theological doctrines and opinions which from time to time have accumulated, and are now brought down to us with numerous ecclesiastical ceremonies; I will call this the Christian theology, though in many important matters it differs widely from the recorded doctrines and opinions of Jesus himself.

It is this theology which shapes the ecclesiastical institutions of Christendom; it is the idea whereof they are the embodiment, the substance to which they are the form. When priests and ministers speak of "Christianity" they commonly mean the "Christian theology," not the "Christian religion." Men who believe this theology and comply with its circumjacent ceremonies are called "Christians;" not such as have merely the "Christian religion," who are called only "amiable men," "deists," "infidels," and the like. To be "converted" is to accept this theology with its ceremonies. When it is said, "Christianity frees the slave, elevates woman, humanizes man, saves the soul," the meaning is that this is done by the Christian theology.

Now to understand the good and ill of these institutions, their relation to the religious consciousness of the American people, and their consequent influence on our present condition and future development, let us look at some of the chief ideas therein — that is, at some of the great theological doctrines of Christendom itself. To do this I will treat of Christendom as a whole, looking only at the great bulk of Christians, and neglecting certain small and exceptional bodies who reject more or less of those ideas, and whose power is only infinitesimal. For I do not care to inquire after the fate of each single bucketful of water ladled out to moisten a lady's rose-bush, but to learn the general direction and current of the great stream of influence which comes from these institutions.

Dissolving away all accidental matter, I will look only at some substantive ideas which are qualitatively common to all Christendom after making the exceptions above referred to. I omit also many excellent doctrines which the Christian has in common with the other world-sects, and some peculiar to itself, and ask your attention to the five great false ideas of this theology which are embodied in the ecclesiastical institutions of Christendom.

I. Of the false idea of God. — The ecclesiastical idea of God represents him as deficient in all the great essentials of Deity except eternal self-existence. He is imperfect in power, in wisdom, in justice, in benevolence, and in holiness — fidelity to himself.

1. Imperfect in power. — He cannot accomplish his purpose; the devil, his perpetual enemy, routs him in every great battle, and at last will fill an immense

hell with the damned, the pick and flower of all the world, who stream thither in vast crowds, overflowing the broad way to destruction, while the narrow road which leads the elect to salvation is thinly dotted "with here and there a traveller."

2. Imperfect in wisdom. — He does not know how his own contrivance will work until set a-going; and then its wheels do not run in human history as in the divine head. Thus the "Fall" of Adam is as much a surprise to God as to man; only the serpent understood it beforehand. The wickedness of the human race, both before and after the "flood," is an astonishment to God, who repented that he had made man, the work proving so defective and even pernicious. God learns by experiments, whereof many turn out failures; so he must destroy his work and try again, not always succeeding the second or third time — nor even in the end.

3. Imperfect in justice. — He often violates the moral sense which he has put into human nature, is deceitful and intensely cruel: witness the command to Abraham for sacrificing Isaac, to Moses to butcher the Canaanites; witness the triumph of the "Lamb" in the book of Revelation, with his oriental army of two hundred million cavalry, destroying a third part of the human race in one quarter of the world, and the rest of his military servants in the western quarter, in one campaign making a spot of blood on the ground two hundred miles in its shortest diameter and thirty-six inches deep.

All this is represented, not as an incident in the historical development of man, or as instrumental to some advantage for any one, but only as a voluntary purpose in the consciousness of God, an end in it-

self, the calculated achievement of his spontaneous providence.

4. Imperfect in his benevolence. — For while he loves some he hates more, and continually creates men fore-doomed to eternal damnation. He is a jealous God, and gives "salvation" in the stingiest way. Nay, voluntarily and on purpose, he created the devil, who is now a being absolutely evil. Of course he created him out of the absolute evil which was in himself; there could be no other source for this material, for God's nature is a terminality of beginning as well as his purpose a finality of ending — from an evil motive, for an evil purpose, and as an appropriate means thereunto.

The devil is not merely a mistake and a failure, but an intended marplot of the universe, a premeditated contradiction. This fly in the ointment of the apothecary does no good in heaven, earth, or hell, and is devised and intended for no good, helping neither any benevolent purpose of God, nor the development of man.

5. Imperfect in his holiness. — He does not keep the integrity of his consciousness, but wilfully violates his own better feelings. Thus he miraculously hardens Pharaoh's heart, bewildering his counsels; sends an evil spirit to Saul, and stealthily excites David to number the people of Israel that he might take vengeance upon them, thus deceiving with inspiration!

It is plain that no Christian sect conceives of God as infinitely perfect in power, wisdom, justice, benevolence, and holiness. In their general description they all claim absolute perfection for their notion of Deity; in their specific details of character and conduct they

all deny it. The idea of the infinitely perfect God is foreign to the Christian theology.

II. Of the false idea of man. — Man was created "in the image and likeness of God," but so badly made that he became an easy prey to the devil. His first step was a "fall," which so damaged his "nature" that ever since it has been "corrupt;" his action, even his thoughts "only evil continually." His body is damaged, and unnaturally mortal, at present not even living out a tithe of the original years of even fallen man; his mind — and he cannot distinguish between truth and error, unless a miracle intervene, nor always then; his conscience — he does not know good from evil; his heart — which is perverse and desperately wicked; his soul — that of itself would neither love nor even know God, or its own immortality. He is "depraved," if not "totally" — which is the instantial opinion of Christendom — at least "generally" and "effectually," so that he is substantially good for nothing; in his flesh and his spirit there is "no good thing!" He is immortal, so much the worse for him! What avails it to increase the quantity of human life while the quality is so bad and the ultimate ruin made sure of beforehand? Damnation alone waits for the souls of the mass of men. He can find out nothing certain about God; all the holy men who taught new religious truth to mankind did not actively learn the truth as men, but only passively received it from God, as bare pipes through which his "Revelation" flowed forth: they did not normally find out a truth, but God miraculously gave them a commandment.

All the rest of God's works are "perfect;" they

turn out as he meant, and are adequate means for his purposes; but man is a failure — this wheel does not run well in the universal mill, nor accomplish the purpose it was intended for! Nay, with all manner of watching and mending, and lubricating with miracles, it works very ill, and God is sorry he made man on the earth, and it grieves him at his heart! Man's hand is perfect, his eye, his foot — the nervous system is complete and perfect as the solar system; but his "nature," his "heart," is evil, and only evil, and that continually!

III. Of the false idea of the relation between God and man. — There is an antagonism between the two, total and eternal — their "natures" irreconcilably conflicting; depraved man at variance with imperfect God! History is chiefly the record of this mutual hostility and conflict, the story of man's rebellion and God's vengeance therefor! Nay, the earth is a monument of the never-ending battle; the earthquakes and whirlwinds of its great elements, the thorns and thistles of vegetation, the strife of beasts of prey, and the "minor note" of the birds, all are alike the consequence and the memorial of this primeval but perpetual falling out between man and God. Eternity will repeat the antagonism, for as God once swept off procreant mankind by a transient flood of water, sparing but eight from a world of men, so at last he will ruin the majority of the whole human race in a permanent deluge of fire, wherein the million generations of men, each millions of millions strong, shall "perish everlastingly," in never-ending fiery rot, while he and the devil alone shall take delight in this flaming massacre, this funeral pile of humanity, where

the worm of agony dieth not in the fire of his wrath, which is not quenched for ever and ever. So perishable earth and ever-enduring hell are alike mementoes of this antagonistic relation; and God and his enemy, the Creator and the destroyer, are made one in their delight over the torment of the human race; the devil gladdened that they fall and are "lost" from heaven, God rejoicing that they are damned and "found" in hell!

All the rest of man's history is but an exception; sin, misery, damnation are instantial, the general rule. A golden thread of divine grace runs through the human web, whereon are strung a few pearls of great price — patriarchs and prophets, saints and the elect — a fleck of white in a whole field of sackcloth, which "poor human nature" continually weaves up, and dyes Egyptian black in the gall of inherited sin, the colour fast set and bitten in by the necessitated guilt of the individual.

In the ecclesiastical conception of God there is a deep back-ground of evil. Now and then the mysterious cloud is miraculously lifted and lets men see the mountain summits of anger, vengeance, jealousy, and hate, and imagine the whole chain of malignity, Andes and Himmalayas of wrath, hid underneath the veil. There is not a book in the Bible which justifies the inference that God loves his children who die in wickedness, or that his hell is for the welfare of its melancholy inmates, only for the vengeance of their Creator.

Out of this dark mass of evil in himself he created the devil — absolutely evil — and hell; both to last for ever, each a finality. The devil is also a child of God, but not acknowledged — turned off, an out-

lying member of the Divine family, the Ishmael of the universe, his hand against God, God's against him. But after this mass of evil is subtracted and embodied in the devil, it is plain that evil still preponderates in the theological conception of God: for he does not bring the human race to a close, but still goes on creating new children of wrath, bowed down with the "sin" of "Adam's fall," before their birth doomed to eternal wretchedness. He might pardon, but he will not; stop creation, but he keeps the world going on, spawning whole shoals of people wherewith to fatten in hell! He might at least annihilate the damned; but even that were too merciful for his vindictive wrath; they must writhe in their agony for ever and ever!

Yet, though evil so far preponderates in the ecclesiastical idea of God, as shown in his conduct, some humane mercy is also ascribed to him, with corresponding acts. He wishes to save a few brands from the burning of the world, to give some other men glimpses of a prospect of escape from ruin. So he prepares a scheme of "redemption" for a few — exceptions to the ruin of the rest.

IV. Of the false idea of inspiration. — God communicated certain doctrines to various men, doctrines of revelation. They were not found out by the normal action of the various human faculties — intellectual, moral, affectional, and religious — for then they would be of human origin, and, like other opinions, amenable to mankind; but they were miraculously given by God himself to men in an abnormal passivity of their various human faculties; and are, accordingly, of divine origin, not at all amenable to mankind.

They are foreign plants miraculously brought from heaven and set out in our niggardly human soil. Inspiration takes place in this manner: the Spirit of God takes transient or continuous possession of a special person and acts through him; so the action is God's, and not man's — God the artist, man the tool. The doctrines thus miraculously communicated are infallible and authoritative, the standard measure of religion and morality. They are also a finality; when the revelation is once ended, nothing is ever to be added thereto, nought taken away. Revelation to one man is binding on all, thus words uttered by a half-civilized Hebrew, many centuries ago, in a state of ecstasy, or dream, or fit of wrath, must now be taken for the infallible oracles of God, by a man born with the highest genius and furnished with the most ample culture which the human race can bestow. He must accept every doctrine of revelation, though in direct variance with the noblest instincts of human nature and the demonstrations of human science. These doctrines of revelation, thus actively communicated by God and passively received by some man, are to be accounted as the primitive source of theological ideas, the fountain of all our knowledge of God and what pertains to religion; human reflection and imagination may only develop, but must not transcend, what lies latent in these seeds of knowledge!

V. Of the false idea of salvation. — In consequence of the misstep and "fall" of Adam, God is permanently angry with the human race and inclined to damn all men to eternal torment. But his wrath has been somewhat mitigated, appeased and diverted from certain persons in this manner; the Divine Being

is composed of three undivided personalities, who are equal in all respects. The second person, called the Son, though eternal and self-subsistent, as much as the first person, the Father — by his own will and consent becomes a man, "incarnated" in Jesus of Nazareth, "the only begotten Son of God," "born of a virgin," with no other human parent. He takes on himself all the wrath which God the Father felt for mankind, is crucified, and thus one undivided third part of the unchangeable and eternal God dies, yet the sum total of Godhead is not diminished by this temporary subtraction, but comes to life again and rises from the dead. The "sufferings" of the Son are an "infinite expiation" and "satisfaction" to God for the sins of men, who may thus escape from hell by his "vicarious atonement." His "merits" are transferred to their account, and they may advance to heaven through his "imputed righteousness," the "divine condition" of salvation. But men receive this divine salvation — deliverance from hell by vicarious atonement, and admission to heaven by imputed righteousness — on certain terms, the "human condition" of salvation. And the terms are such that, of all who have hitherto lived, the "saved" are a most pitiful fraction compared to the "lost!" Hell is roomy and crowded, while heaven is narrow, but with many mansions all unoccupied! The great mass of men, before their birth, are doomed to eternal torment, whence no act of theirs can set them free. The whole "scheme of redemption," with the doctrines of revelation, the incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection of one undivided third part of the Godhead, salvation by Christ, has no other result but to save a handful, gleaned miraculously from the earthly field, while the

great bulk of the human harvest, grown in so many centuries and reaped down by death, is shooked up by the devil for the threshing-floor of hell, where he and his angels shall flail at them for ever and ever, and winnow them with a fiery tempest of wrath, which lasts throughout all eternity.

These five false ideas are common to the three great parties into which the Christian sect is divided — to the Greek church, the Latin church, and the German church. They all share the idea of an imperfect God; of a depraved and almost worthless human nature; of a relation of perpetual antagonism between God the Creator and man his work; of a miraculous inspiration, limited to a few persons; of a vicarious salvation, which helps only a few, while it leaves the great majority of mankind to perish for ever. These five false ideas are the chief thing in these ecclesiastical institutions, which take thence their peculiar form and special activity.

Omit, for the present, the specialties of the Greek church, which does not now influence the destinies of America, and consider, for a moment, the peculiar doctrine of the Latin and German churches, the other two-thirds of Christendom. To the above five points common to all Christendom, the Latin or Roman Catholic church adds these two ideas.

I. The Roman church — that is, practically, the clergy thereof — are the sole depositary of the miraculous revelation, and are still miraculously and infallibly inspired. They alone have, in its fulness, the traditional part of the ecclesiastical institution, as well oral as written; they alone can produce the original part, which is only a development of the germ in the

old. Thus they, and they alone, can interpret the divine ideas of revelation and administer the divine institutions thence arising. They continue the state of inspiration, miraculously preserving the old, miraculously developing the new.

The Roman church — that is, practically, its clergy — is the exclusive steward of this "salvation by Christ," appointed as the agent of God with a special power of attorney from him to do all matters and things which he might do were he actually resident on the earth, whence he has now withdrawn and seceded. The Roman church is to dictate the terms on which this salvation shall be served out to nations and individual persons; to bind or loose in doctrine, advancing men to heaven, or relegating them to hell. She is the actual vicegerent and representative of God on earth, substantially is God.

In virtue of these two ideas, the Roman church determines the doctrines to be believed and the deeds to be done as a condition of salvation. She is a finality, is the norm of faith and works. Conformity therewith is the exclusive condition of present favor and final acceptance with God. There must be no ultimate free spiritual individuality in religious matters, no private judgment in theology, as she is God's vicar to determine theological thought and religious action, for each individual taking the place of mind and conscience, heart and soul; and as the human faculties are "totally depraved," and she "infallibly inspired," it is a great gain for the human race to have their spiritual work done for them by so competent a hand.

The Roman church claims to be a divine institution, not at all human in origin, function, or responsibility,

but wholly of God; and even to him amenable only as a part of himself, an expansion of the Godhead. No amount of contradiction in the Catholic doctrines, or of wickedness in the infallible heads of the church, diminishes the divinity of the institution. She is one and indivisible, with absolute unity of doctrinal substance and practical form; no sects can be allowed, no historical progress in doctrine, for the ultimatum was attained at the very beginning. Accordingly the function of the Catholic priest is to administer the miraculous revelation, to dictate with authority the doctrines to be believed, the work to be done, and to communicate the vicarious salvation.

II. The German or Protestant church, entertaining these five false ideas common to Christendom, rejects the two subsidiary which are proper only to the Roman church, and develops this, which is her own peculiar and distinctive opinion: The Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the sole depository of the miraculous revelation; they determine the doctrines to be believed, the works to be done, the conditions of salvation. They are the finality, the norm of faith and works. Conformity with them is the indispensable condition of present favor and final acceptance with God. Men must take the Bible as master; it is divine in origin, function, and responsibility; nay, it is only an expansion of God. To the Catholic the Latin church is God, deity embodied in the priesthood; to the Protestant the Bible is God, deity bound up in a collection of books. The Bible contains all that man needs in theological matters, now and hereafter, all he can ever get, for it is not only God's word, but his last word, his last will and testament, for though

living elsewhere he is now seceded and deceased from all direct communication with man. There is no inspiration now; it is all ended, the stream run dry. The Bible is signed, sealed, and delivered as and for the last will and testament of Almighty God.

But as there is no miraculous expounder of the miraculous revelation, every man may and must interpret the Bible for himself. This is the weak part of this ecclesiastical institution considered as a finality: each man has the right of private judgment, to determine the canon, what is Scripture; and the interpretation, what Scripture means. There may be individuality of opinion in religion as elsewhere. Within the lids of the Bible there is room for speculation. Nay, logically, the authority of the Bible itself is to be proved to the satisfaction of the individual before he accepts it as his master. Hence there can be no unity of doctrine or of form with the Protestants; and at the beginning the Teutonic individualism clove the new church into many parties, each having the general opinions of Protestantism and the special notions of Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and so forth.

The function of the Protestant minister is to administer the Bible, which contains the miraculous balm of salvation for the sin of depraved human nature; he must set forth the most important parts of the Bible, the doctrines, which are the essential and medicative substance of this balm. Hence come the efforts to distribute the Bible — the word of God — and doctrinal tracts, which contain the extract of Bible, the quintessence of the word of God. For as the strength of Samson lay not in his bones, and muscles, and sinews, but only in his hair, so the efficient and salvatory power

of the Bible lies not in those beautiful parts which teach natural piety and natural morality, but only in its theological doctrines, especially in those five false ideas above set forth, which theological chemistry distils therefrom.

In both the Catholic and the Protestant churches all the fundamental theological doctrines are taught on external authority; the last appeal for the acceptance of doctrines is not to the consciousness of the individual believer pronouncing them just and true, but to the miraculous revelation declaring them divine commands; not to the Spirit of God now in me, but what is alleged to have been the Spirit of God in some man long since dead and gone. Science rests on facts of consciousness and facts of observation, it is therefore "profane;" theology on the "said-so" of somebody, often of an anonymous writer in a rude and uncertain age, and is "Divine." One has the evidence of human nature in us, and the world of matter out of us, and so roots into consciousness and observation; the other comes from the dictation of a minister or a priest, who dogmatizes at will about man, God, and the most important of all human concerns, and does not root into our spontaneous or reflected consciousness, and like doctrines of philosophy grow thence, but is only grasped by the will and thereby is retained.

In the Catholic church I ask, "What is truth; what is religion?" I am sent to the opinion of the Catholic church, which I must believe, not because it is true — for that would imply that I can myself determine what is true — but because the infallible church says it must be believed. So, as evidence of a theological

doctrine — the existence of God, the immortality of the soul — I have the word of a Roman priest!

In the Protestant church I ask the same question, and am sent to the opinion of somebody in the New Testament or the Old. I am told to believe the doctrine, not because it is true, conformable to my own nature, but because it is written in the infallible Scriptures. And as evidence for a theological doctrine — the nature of God, or man, or daily duty — I have the word of somebody in the Bible!

Thus in both divisions of the Western church the free spirit of humanity is shut out, and we are referred to an outward standard, not one within mankind. I ask the Catholics, "How do you know your church is infallible?" and the Protestant, "What is the proof of the divinity and infallibleness of your Bible?" but neither has any valid argument to offer; each assumes the chief point on which all else depends, and puts a master on the neck of mankind. The inquirer is not to ask, "What is true, conformable to the instincts and reflections of human nature?" only, "What is ecclesiastical and of the church? or, What is Scriptural and of the Bible?" Thus the outside caprice of some man, often of some unknown man, is made to take precedence of the facts of the universe. God is postponed and a priest preferred.

What is yet worse, in both the Latin and the German church, much more stress is laid on the Christian theology than on the Christian religion. Natural piety, natural morality — the religion of human nature — is thought good for nothing; stigmatized as "deism," "infidelity," which "saves nobody," "good to live with, not to die by." Religion is accessory, theology principal.

In the Christian theology there are doctrines, good and bad, much older than Jesus, things from him and his time, many from a later date. The Christian church was the residuary legatee of the institutions it slew, or which perished without such foreign aid. It retained many of the best things of Hebrew and heathen antiquity; one thing it left out of its treasury, free individuality of spirit, freedom in philosophy, freedom in religion. Yet it was this which made the moralists, poets, and philosophers of the heathen institutions, the prophets and psalmists of the Hebrew institutions; yes, it made Jesus and his apostles. The church kept the child's swaddling bands, the fictitious likeness of father and mother, the gossip of nurses, and the little cradle, but it shook out the live baby; it kept the wonderful draught of fishes which toilsome mankind had caught, called it "miraculous," and then forbid all persons to cast net or angle in the great deep of humanity, whence it had been taken. Hereafter that ocean must be shunned as a dead sea; and fishes therein must be held blasphemous, and burned with the fire prepared for the devil and his angels.

There is one great scheme of theology common to the Christian sects; it was gradually formed in the dark and middle ages, and contains both good and evil. It was a growth out of human nature, perhaps as unavoidable, under the circumstances, as the particular schemes of agriculture, or politics of that time, coming as the feudal system, as alchemy, and astrology, and other experiments of man. Of course the ecclesiastical institutions are no more supernatural than the pattern of merchant-ships, or the constitution of the republic of San Marino. Mistakes in the form of religion — feelings, opinions, actions — are no

more surprising than mistakes in the form of the family or the community; false ideas in theology not more astonishing than in philosophy or business, which are all attempts at progress, and advance by experiment. But these ecclesiastical institutions are forced on man as "divine," of "miraculous origin." The Catholic priest says, "The church is all glorious, not a spot or blemish on her," and "out of the church is no salvation." The Protestant minister says, "The Scriptures are all divine, no human wrinkle in the divine leaves, where inspiration yet flutters, and wherein revelation is written; out of the Bible there is no salvation!" It is easy to be mistaken; it is also not difficult to deceive others, at least to make the attempt. Is this innocent error, or pernicious deception? The clergy are the most learned body in Christendom; are they also the most stupid? Men will answer this question as they must. The church and the state are ruled by men tempted alike, perhaps equally honest. There is wicked legislation, wicked doctrinization; good also in both kinds.

These ecclesiastical institutions of Christendom contain much good; but their worst things rest on the same "divine revelation," and claim the same "supernatural authority." The same "revelation" gives us God, and the dreadful malignity of God; a little spot of heaven it gives us and then crowds humanity down into its bottomless hell, roaring with that infernal sea's immeasurable taunt at our endless agony. The same fountain gives us a little brook of sweet fair water, enough for a household, and then drowns the world in a deluge of hell-fire.

A chain is no stronger than its weakest link; if the rest be of iron, and one joint only be of straw, when

the weight is put on the chain snaps in its weakest part. With these notorious faults in it, the "miraculous communication from God," its "infallible revelation," the "authoritative rule," is good for nothing; its "hell" destroys its "heaven," and the malignant and foolish character it ascribes to God makes its testimony as to the existence of God utterly worthless. The chain which let down God to our sight breaks off at the link of devil. Allow me to take the chain to pieces, and use the good sound metal, either in its present form when thus serviceable, or as old iron to be heated afresh and wrought into new shapes for use or beauty, it is of great worth. The links of sand and straw may go for what they are worth, the magazine of iron serves our purpose. But if we must use it as a chain, it is not only good for nothing, holding no weight, but still worse than nothing, failing when we rely on it most, and, beside that, falling upon our heads.

But what can stand against the spirit of mankind? Chain the wind! Let me see you! It bloweth where it listeth. In the sixteenth century the free-thinkers of Europe, who were only the head of a column of doubt which reached across the dark ages, attacked the infallibility of the Romish church. Down went the outer wall, and through its wide breach all North Germany, Scandinavia, Anglo-Saxondom, with half Holland and Switzerland, marched forth to new fields. In vain did atheistic Rome let off her mock lightnings and stage thunders at Luther and Calvin; the Latin herd of bulls went down before the terrible charge of Teutonic horse, led by such champions as Gustavus and Cromwell. The whole camp of Christian theology was in confusion.

Other free-thinkers followed; the Socinians, with their coadjutors, attacked the Trinity. "God is one," said they, "not triple; Jesus is not Jehovah; the Son not the Father. God cannot be born, be a baby, a boy, a man, and then die. It is not in the Bible; if it were, we would believe it; we renounce the Trinity." So there rose up the Unitarians; not very numerous, but powerful through their arguments and character. In turn the Trinitarians screamed their maledictions. "You are no followers of Jesus, not Christians; you have denied the Lord that bought you. God not die! Did not God the Father 'make bare his red right arm, and on Calvary stab through and kill his only begotten Son?' Without God manifested in Christ, we should not know any God at all. You are Atheists!" But a new breach was made in the mediæval wall of Christendom, and other men marched forth. The whole citadel of theology was again in peril.

Then kind-hearted men, free-thinking further yet, said, "There can be no such thing as eternal damnation; God is not a devil, he is a Father; there is no future torment at all, or if any, it is correction in love, not revenge in hate. Listen to all these blessed beatitudes of Old Testament and New; eternal hell is not in the Bible: if it were we should believe it." A great outcry was made against these lovers of mankind. "What! give up hell; our own eternal hell?" exclaimed the damnationists. "You have taken away our Lord, and we know not where you have laid him; there can be no religion if eternal torment do not scare depraved man out of his senses." Still this denial went on and multiplied, and a third great breach was made in the battled wall, while all the ecclesiasti-

cal institutions shook as hell was wrenched away from underneath that corner of the church.

These breaches cannot be filled up; the German Protestant goes not back to the "Infallible Roman church;" the Unitarian has consulted his "carnal reason," and no longer believes that the eternal God once lay, newly born, a baby in the arms of his virgin mother, and was fed from her bosom; the Universalist returns no more to the "doctrine of devils," but refuses to worship a God who would damn even a New England stealer of men. Who can annul a fact? The charmed wall of Christian theology is cloven through in three places. Shall mankind build up the breach? It were as easy to reverse the motion of the great rivers of the continent, and make the Atlantic ascend the St. Lawrence, climb up the steep of Niagara, and empty its vast volume into the Lake of the Woods.

But in the great body of the Christian church this old theology still prevails. The Catholics outnumber the Protestants as three to two, all the Celto-Romanic nations yet cleave to the Latin church, and are shut up in the clenched fist of the Pope. With the greater part of the Protestants hell and the Trinity are still treasured in their "creed." Even the Unitarians and Universalists cleave to "salvation by Christ," which means nothing in theology unless Christ be a God-man to save, and there be also "a dreadful fiery hell" of eternal duration, and wrath of God kept for ever, which we are to be saved from: they cleave to external authority, and will not credit the immortality of the soul, or the obligations of duty, unless they find it written in the Bible and confirmed by "miracles." So in theology they know no ulti-

mate God but of paper, which they worship instead of the infinite cause of providence of the universe, who confronts us ever, go we where we may. Accordingly they also accept the old "revelation" as the *Ultima Thule* of religion, spurn the thought of new inspiration good as the old, and count it blasphemy to suppose there ever can be another man as wise and religious as Jesus of Nazareth! So the littlest of sects must have their defenders of the faith to hoot out "Infidel," "Deist," and put a fence high as the Roman wall about the little, transient, thin-soiled summer garden of cooling fruits. In each sect of Protestantism it is still a heresy to believe theologic truth because it is true, or to hope for progress beyond the ecclesiastical institutions of Christendom.

But a movement more important than that of Luther has long been going forward. Men deny all these five false ideas, and undermine the foundation of the Christian theology, the miraculous revelation itself. Here come the "Deists" of the seventeenth and other centuries, and the powerful mockers from various ages, who, though sitting in the seat of the scornful, have yet done mankind great service with the terrible arrows of their wit. Here also come the philosophers of many a wiser school, material and transcendental.

In the seventeenth century, in the age of Bacon, Milton, Newton, Locke, out of the midst of the uneducated peasantry of England, there rose up a man gifted with great genius for religion, its emotions and its ideas, and taught truths whose size and beauty amazed the thoughtful world. At one step George Fox went centuries in advance of Christendom. He

felt that the ecclesiastical institutions of his time were not final; that "Christianity" itself is not God's last word and dying confession; that the spirit of God in us must not be driven out to let in the word of some other man, for God in the soul is greater than all Bibles out of it. He did not comprehend his own great sentiments; yet here and there his emotion broke forth into noble doctrines. But the age was too early; he and his friends turned back to the ecclesiastical institutions of the time, and also worshipped the stocks and stones of an alleged revelation, grieving away the free spirit of God which comes like new morning to all risen souls; yea, to all the slumbering and such as will not wake. "Oppression maketh wise men mad," and the attractions of the Christian theology may easily draw even a great man from the self-subsistency of pure human religion. It is

> "The most difficult of tasks to keep
> Heights which the soul is competent to gain."

The succeeding Quakers were still more easily satisfied with the poor ideas which the Christian theology offered of God, of man, of their relation, of miraculous and finished inspiration, and salvation by another's blood; they contented themselves with making broad their phylacteries, with enlarging the borders of their garments, and being called of men "thee" and "thou." But while listening for the echo of footsteps taken thousands of years gone by, they heeded not the beauteous Presence then and there passing before them, and not far from each. No wonder their prophetic blossom fell idle, and they brought no fruit to perfection. But the rise of such men as John Woolman, Job Scott, Elias Hicks, and a

few others, as well men as women, showed that the ashes which a Christian theology raked over Fox and Nayler, and Barclay and Penn, could not smother the seeds of fire which God planted in human nature, and with the fresh breath of inspiration quickens to new and fair religious life. How vain to worship an idol!

> "Thou, Thou alone art everlasting, and the blessed spirits
> Which thou includest as the sea her waves."

All along, in all the ages of populous mankind, there have risen up sons of the spirit who scorned the little theologies of Hebrew, or heathen, or Christian churches, left such farthing candles under the priest's bushel or the couch of a nun, and in the light of God's morning went forth amid the grass and the flowers of nature, catching the song of earliest birds, and, like the newly risen sun, serving and praising God by their free, joyous life of daily duty. When shall we close the lists and seek truth no more? When humanity gives up the ghost. The loving of the maiden is beautiful and joyous as the wedlock of the bride. Noble German Luther[1] said, "If God would stand before me, truth in his right hand, search for truth in the left, and say, 'Choose, Martin, which thou wilt,' I would bow me down at his left hand and say, 'Oh! Father, give me search after truth; though I wander and fall into many an error, I will journey ever forward and upward unto thee!'"

Now all the sects in America share these false ideas, and rest them on a basis which they pretend is divine. They know only an imperfect God, a depraved mankind, and an antagonistic relation between the two; no revelation but one miraculous, unnatural, and long

since ended; no safety but the vicarious "salvation by Christ!"

The function of the "Christian minister" is not to educate the mind and conscience and heart and soul of the people; not to learn and teach absolute truth, justice, loveliness, and self-subsistent holiness, but to administer the alleged revelation — of the Bible or the church — and bend and twist "our fallen human nature" into the shape demanded by the ecclesiastical institutions. He must bow him down before the old inspiration, not also for himself win and receive the new. The thirty thousand Christian ministers of the United States do not aim to produce natural religion, natural morality in men, the largest development of manhood and womanhood; but to make them partakers of the vicarious salvation, to rid them of human nature, the "natural heart," and appease the wrath of God. Prayer is to humanize the deity, not to elevate and develop man. Thus religion, the most powerful of all emotions in man, is turned away from its natural function and disfigures our life; it smutches the face with cowardice and unwomanly terror, and makes us go stooping and feeble, with eyes which dare not look up, and hearts that quiver and quail at the name of eternity, or its God! Hence the ministers of Christianity are no more powerful for good works. Some of them are able men, educated at great cost, no class of men so bookish and academic; a few are devoted, self-denying men; the majority chose their calling with an unselfish love for it; some of them would lay down their lives for mankind. But while they consider it is their function not to provide for men's bodies by teaching us how to live a natural life of industry, temperance and thrift,

full of strength, truth, and comeliness; not to educate men's minds, developing the intellectual power to know truth and beauty, and handsomely report and apply the same; not to unfold the conscience so that we shall both know and keep the natural law which God enacts in the constitution of man; not to bring out the affections till we love each other in all the forms of human endearment — filial, connubial, parental, affiliated, friendly, and philanthropic; not to cultivate the soul so that we shall know the real God by heart — not merely trembling beneath a fabled deity imported from some foreign consciousness and piled upon us — and taste, and see, and feel his infinite perfection, till we also partake of his excellence and become one with him, inspired by his truth, justice, and love, communing with him in all noble life, and having no fear, but serving with continual growth of our being to absolute love and absolute truth;— while they do none of these things, but as their chief and instantial function seek to administer what at best were only a foreign, old, and finished inspiration, if it could be even that; and communicate a salvation alleged to be wrought out by one who died two thousand years ago; while for ultimate authority they appeal, not to the spirit of God within me now, in my own mind and conscience, heart and soul, not even to that spirit outside of me in the green and transient beauty of this earthly spring or the perennial loveliness of the heavens whose spring is eternal, but to an old revelation, impossible to verify, made, it is said, to men long since dead, of whom I know little, and that not wholly to their credit as teachers of truth, full of errors obvious not less than manifold; while they appeal to low motives in me, to mean and selfish fear, now brib-

ing with heaven, now scaring with hell, bewildering history with capricious fable, and philosophy with shameful theologic myths, preaching up an imperfect God who hates and will damn all his creatures save a scanty few, they seldom the noblest, and thunder forth all this mad volley against a heart which they declare totally depraved, incapable of any good thing, fertile only of evil, how can they succeed in elevating mankind to the dignity of human nature? True, there are noble men in all the churches, noble ministers in every sect, but they work for a vain purpose, counting it their business to "pacify God," who yet needs no appeasing; they would save men from the fabulous "wrath to come," not from the real evils of want, ignorance, vice, oppression, and abnormal conduct in all its thousand forms; they tell us to get rid of human nature, not to avoid the errors of human experiment, not to develop this noblest creation of God to its commensurate destination. They tell us that the manliest of all the Greek and Roman heroes, patriots, philosophers, and bards, the women whose beautiful souls bloomed into natural piety, the millions of common people faithful to all which God gave them, must "perish everlasting;" and even the magnanimous saints of the Hebrew or the Christian age were not such by their nature born in them, or their voluntary use of it, but a "miracle of grace" wrought in their passive substance by the Almighty Artist; that character saves no man; only Christ can "redeem!" It is not large, self-reliant manhood which ministers ask to make us "Christians," but the acceptance of another's action in place of my own. You read of "conversions," thickly following in these days: generally it does not mean the education of the

man, but how often only that he has learnt a new trick of whining, or of believing something which he cannot even credit when in full possession of himself! Jesus of Nazareth is one of the last men who could be "converted" to this "Christianity" of our times! What a heretic that great magnificent soul would be to our ecclesiastical institutions! A missionary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts writes from the Crimea: "The soldier is very childlike in some things; he has been so long accustomed to obey that he has not been allowed to form notions or have opinions, and thus he is in a fit state to receive the good news, the glad tidings of salvation; he receives it in simplicity." So in his highest condition the Christian is only a suckling on the miraculous bosom of the church! Must then the sons of the church be only continual babies?

No doubt the ecclesiastical institutions of Christendom are the greatest obstacle now in the way of man's progress, retarding and perverting the intellectual, moral, affectional, and religious development of the human race. Still, they are not able to destroy the instinct for progress, and in America hold back the tide of improvement. While the Christian sects have been building up this dark theology of unreason, there has been a great growth of philosophy and religion. See what a forest of science and literature has sprung up outside of the churches, and in spite of the mildew of their breath.

All over Christendom thoughtful men have broken with the ecclesiastical traditions. They find there is no such imperfect and dreadful God! no such totally depraved man as the church pretends; no such an-

tagonism between the divine and human nature; no such miraculous revelation, or vicarious salvation; that there is no infallible church, nor infallible Bible; no Trinity, no incarnation, no eternal hell, no miracle; that the history of man's religious development is no more mysterious than the history of his agriculture or astronomy: nay, that all the great steps are forward and upward, this ghastly theology itself one of the manifold experiments of humanity, in our triumphant march — a stumble, but forward.

Some of these are philosophers — men of science, of metaphysics — who have profoundly studied the world of matter and of man, and become familiar with human history. Some are philanthropists; they labor for the oppressed and perishing; take the part of the laity against the priesthood; of the people against the tyrant; of woman against man, who holds her down by force; of the slave against his master; of him that suffers wrong against whoso does the wrong. They seek to spread knowledge, industry, temperance, riches, health, beauty, and long life, and purity, and every human virtue amongst all men. They would promote peace between nations, and found society on coöperative industry, not on mutual selfish antagonism.

All these men have broken with the ecclesiastical institutions, Catholic and Protestant. They ask not its heaven, nor tremble at its hell. There is a great body of thinking men in America and England, who have outgrown the mediæval theology; they are not "in a fit state to receive the good news, the glad tidings of salvation," for they have been accustomed "to form notions and have opinions" of their own. Over these the church has lost its ancient

power. Some of them wander away into speculative atheism, disgusted with the very name of religion. Do you marvel at it? Remember what has been offered them in that name! Many stop this side of that extreme, but yet have no conscious religion. Full of pious feeling, rich in moral conduct, and in hope for mankind, they are religious without belief in God, and hopeful with no expectation of a future heaven.

I look with great pain on the men whom the Christion theology has driven away from religion; they are the confessors and martyrs of the church of the future. Saints of denial, their fidelity drove them forth from institutions which could not satisfy the thoughtful man. They found no rest, "in wandering mazes lost." They went on the forlorn hope of mankind, to storm the castle of despair; they perish in the ditch, crushed by the wall they overthrow. In a better age they would go first and foremost in building up the great temple of piety. Now they only prepare for its foundation, and never see its blessed walls; Simeons who die without the consolation!

But how much more do I mourn over the less manly fate of such as accept these institutions, and are benumbed by the narcotics of the church, till all their manhood is paralyzed, and they lie there, coffined in their pews, which rest on crumbling graves, stifled with the miasma thereof, swathed about with the mummy-cloths of a theology that is Egyptian in its darkness if not in age, and burthened with a torpor, profound, heavy, and similar to death, were it not visited with fear, that dreadful nightmare which haunts the church! It is better that doubt deprive us of sleep, rather than belief take all our life away.

For what doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world of theology, and lose the integrity of his own consciousness; or what shall a man get in exchange for his soul? The name "Christian;" the title "orthodox!"

I know ministers chide at this as "a material age." Never was one so spiritual before. There was never so much action of the highest faculties in man; never so much wise thought, such science, such metaphysics, such history, such beautiful creations of intellectual magnificence. There was never so much morality; such keeping of the natural laws of God; never so much benevolence amongst men, nor so much piety; reverence for truth, justice, love, and holiness; never so much love for the infinite God. But this spiritual activity does not put its new wine in the old leathern bottles of the church. So the church thinks it fit only for the devil's sacrament! It builds no pyramids, nor parthenons, nor cathedrals of St. Peter, "indulging" a hemisphere on purchased wickedness that it may pile up sandstone and marble in the name of God. It does not engage in a crusade against brother men in the name of him whose early word was, "Love your neighbor as yourself," and his latest, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!" No colonies are founded in the name of religion, because the nations which swarm forth into new hives have conquered the oppressive church and now can enjoy their religion at home. The Puritan builds him his meeting-house in old England; the Quaker need not "bear his testimony" by leaving the grave of his mother; the Waldenses may fill all the valleys of the Alps, with none to molest or make them afraid. We exaggerate the religious-

ness of past times and underrate our own. The millions who went to the Holy Land in the dark ages, with the red cross on their shoulders, to fight the Saracen, had as little of true religion as the filibusters [2] who would pillage Cuba and Mexico; or the mob who crowded to the funeral of Bill Poole [3] in New York. Once ignorant men honestly affirmed the popular theology; now man enlightened denies it and spurns it away.

Reverence for God sends men to study nature, his undoubted Scriptures; the world of matter his Old Testament, the world of man his New. There was never such a profound and wide-spread love of truth, and seach after it. Look at Germany and France, which lead in the world's science, literature, and art; look at England and America, following with our slower Saxon brain, our heavier and more material feet! See how in those perennial diagrams of fire men study the thought of God demonstrated in the geometric science of the sky, or in the deeper heaven of man's nature watch the course of those human stars for ever wheeling round the central orb, which is unseen though felt through all our history!

The religious spirit of this age shows itself in the attempt to found better political institutions, which shall insure unity of action to millions, and yet destroy the personal freedom of no man. Look back a few hundred years,— what were all the six crusades to the American and French Revolutions — to the year of revolutions [4] so recently passed by? What was the pretended discovery of the true cross, of the tomb of Jesus, of the lance which pierced his side, compared with the attempts to abolish slavery, war, pauperism, ignorance, drunkenness! One was

the search for a piece of wood, or iron, or stone; the other an attempt to elevate man to the image of God. It was an act of piety to build the cathedrals of Europe. What is it to build up such communities of men as the new free states of America,— Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota? Are the mechanical inventions of this age to pass for nothing! Now the gospel of mind is preached to matter, material elements have heard the word with joy; and in this new pentecost, earth, air, fire, water, lightning, have received the Holy Ghost, and are baptized with thought, obedient to the heavenly vision; they become servants of the church of humanity, and are ministers to promote the true salvation of mankind — clothing the naked, giving bread to the poor, and education to the thoughtful and the heedless.

See what reform of laws goes on continual; what pains are taken to defend the most exposed classes of mankind. Down must fall the gallows, type of a malignant God; the Sun of Righteousness must shine into the dungeon; jails must no more be savage torture-chambers, but civil hospitals to heal the sickly man; crime must become amenable to correction which would bless, not subject only to vengeance which would but burn and kill; drunkenness must end, and American democracy forges her sharpest, heaviest axe, grinds it to rough and dreadful edge, then smites it down upon that beast with seven ghastly heads, and seventy times as many ample-tined horns all red with murder; drunkenness must die. Pauperism must lay off its rags, no longer sitting in the dirt of Dives' gate with no attendance save the dogs', unasked; but the science of the age shall heal the beggar of his poverty, which is the destruction of the poor. The

lame must walk, the public finding crutch; the blind must see with foreign eyes, germane not alien; the deaf must hear with other sense which human science gives; and in his fingers the dumb man finds a tongue, and yet no miracle. In his right mind the lunatic sits clothed. The harlot, seduced by passion once, or scourged by want, must now be wooed back to comely womanhood once more; the nun, no longer in idle dreams worshipping the "Virgin Mother of God," reclaims these hard-entreated sisters of men, daughters and victims, the clean hand washing that so deeply polluted. Children derelict of their parents — wrecks of drunkenness, ignorance, and crime — must find fathers and mothers in the public lap. Nay, the poor fool, whom in "the ages of faith" kings and popes mocked at, who, rigged with motley cap and bells, went a hideous jest, the companion of apes, in theologic and monarchic courts, and even in the humane Bible was pointed at with dreadful hootings, in the new democracy must now be lifted up to the dignity of man. Even the abortions of humanity must be respected and beloved. Walls of partition fall away from between us; the patient philanthropist knows no race but the human, no class but of men and women. The Turk must not be oppressed, though the unity of Christendom be broke to rescue him; and now the foremost nations of the Latin and the Teutonic church join hands to help the Mahometan against the Christian of Russia.[5] "The Jews are the slaves of the church," said St. Thomas Aquinas, "which can dispose of their goods." Now the Jew must have the same rights as the Christian, for these depend on human nature itself. Wars must cease; the fetters fall from the limbs of the slave; if Chris-

tian theology chain him, the chain will drag down the unmanly church. The savage must be fed with the science of the civilized. Woman must be the equal of man, rejoicing in the same ecclesiastic, political, social, domestic, and individual rights, commensurate with her duties and her nature; and so the garden wherein God put the choicest human mold and planted the divinest seeds of heaven, long trodden under foot and made the common-shore of ambition and of lust, must now bring forth its natural flowers of humanity, whose fragrance is the breath of God, and their fruit for the healing of the nations.

Behold the great philanthropies of our time! But in this work — the greatest work of the most noble age — the servants of the ecclesiastical institutions can do little in their professional capacity. As religious men, they may do much; as "theological ministers," how little! True, there are noble ministers, worthiest followers of Jesus of Nazareth; nay, leaders far in advance of that Son of God, in the nineteenth century venturing where he never trod, nor could not step so long ago, who engage in all these noble deeds of humanity. But they are heretics, really, if not all plain to see! The mass of ministers, what do they care for the bondage of the slave, the degraded position of woman, for the vices of the age, which cheat man of his birthright? They can quote theology to prove them all virtues. It is their function to "baptize" men, or babies rather, to "convert" them to the popular theology, admit them to the church, to a dispensation of wine and bread in the meeting-house, and bury their bodies when dead; not to humanize and elevate them to great manhood.

With those five false theological ideas, what can thirty thousand ministers do? What they do! I find no peculiar fault with them; I pity far more than I blame, for I know too well how ecclesiastical education blinds the eye with thick bandages of old prejudice, and then is called "teaching man to see with the Spirit." The ecclesiastical minister is to alter the disposition of God, not that of man. He is to deal with the "original sin" inherited from "Adam," not the actual offenses against natural law which originate with you and me. He is to help a few men out of hell; it is not lust, drunkenness, gaming, violence, idleness, theft, murder — vices of passion; it is not pride, vanity, covetousness, ambition, deceit, cruelty, and lust for power and all the other vices of calculation, which cast men down; they are damned for the taint of Adam, "the fault of our general human nature," not for our personal misconduct as Emily and James. Adam's sin is the Cerberus of the Christian mythology; there in hades he crouches, keenly scenting the "guilt" of the "unredeemed," and with pitiless baying hounds them off to hell. The ecclesiastical minister is to help express a few lean and hungry souls to heaven; but the ticket demanded at that slow-yielding gate is not the golden branch plucked from the tree of life, planted, indeed, by God, but watered, tended, husbanded by us, radiant with youthful flowers, and rich with manly fruit of every virtuous sort; no, it is a certificate of "baptism," of "conversion" to the opinion of the Catholics or the Quakers, or other little sect, or that he is tattooed all over with some man's ancient whim; no healthy spot of natural skin left whole. Adamitic virtue is not welcome there, "salvation is by Christ." Not a sect in the Chris-

tian world proclaims "salvation" by character, by honest efforts to do a man's best; not one demands the moral development of all the faculties as the great work of life, and the service of God! Each sect is termagant to war against the fictitious sin of Adam; not one is strongly militant to fight against the incidental errors of our historic development, the great vices which lay waste the sons and daughters of men. They can compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and then teach him that there is "no higher law." "American slavery is a divine institution," and "the fugitive slave bill is worthy of the church of Christ." "According to their pasture so are they filled." Can you expect better work from such tools? Who would cut down the woods of Nebraska with an Indian axe of stone? What if you had only the industrial tools of the Pennsylvania red man three hundred years ago? How would your harvests look? Where would your cities shine?

I say there was never so much normal action of the higher faculties in man; but there is no ecclesiastical institution which can organize and direct this action, or even encourage it. In the churches of America, Mr. Polk and Mr. Webster are counted better Christians than George Washington or Benjamin Franklin. No philanthropist ranks so high as the authors of the fugitive slave bill. Slavery is "orthodox," "Christian." Aye, is of the Christian theology! There is no popular theology, no science of religion to go forth in advance of the age, with its great idea of God and of man, a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night, leading us out of the house of bondage, through red seas and sandy deserts, to the land of promise. The Hebrew church, which brought Israel up out of

Egypt, perished in Jerusalem; the Buddhistic poorly feeds the half-civilized millions of Asia. The Mahometan church, which once led the Semites to such wide victory, has twice been broken by the dreadful Teutonic arm, and now sees her crescent in its last quarter; its silver light is too feeble for nations to walk by on the path of science, letters, or noble manly life, and the morning comes on apace. The once powerful church, so badly misnamed, which honors only the Christ of fiction, not yet the Jesus of fact, with her triple crown of nationalities — Greek, Latin, German — no longer sits the heir of all the ages, and the queen of civilization. Twice the ministers of this ecclesiastical institution have led the movements of the Western world. Once, when they felt the warm breath of that great Hebrew Peasant — a poor woman's child, cradled among the oxen at Bethlehem — and walking by the evening splendor reflected from his genius just gone down, all filled and inspired by the womanly comeliness and manly sublimity of his life, the apostles and martyrs — two by two, they wandered in the wilderness in a solitary way; they found no city to dwell in; hungry and thirsty, their soul fainted not, but went from one kingdom to another people, few in number and strangers in it, despised and rejected of men — they led the world with their austere piety and victorious confidence in God. Once again the Christian clergy, richly endowed, with studious men in their well-fed ranks, had a monopoly of superior education; they alone kept alive the torch of science, once lighted by that spark which Greek Prometheus had brought down from God; their garden alone escaped the barbaric flood, the new deluge, which so wasted all the world besides, and therein

many a choice plant of ancient husbandry still grew, enriching its literary bloom with all the sweetness and mysterious meaning of ancient times; yea, new plants therein sprung up, by spontaneous generation from the all-quickening life of nature. Then the fathers and doctors — wide-browed, their tall heads worn with thought — they led the world; and as a symbol of their intellectual mastery, straightway sprang up new organizations of matter, the vast cathedrals of the Western world, those flowers of stone, the hanging gardens of the Latin church, which still amaze the world, whereto the elements seemed moving 'neath the orphic impulse of creative mind. Then, too, came forth those priestly companies of monks and nuns — the master mind new organized in mortal men, unarmed and armed the most — who tyrannized over tyrants, and ruled the world by hope and fear, with tragic witchery of thought.

But that Teutonic giant who smote the Roman state, and doubly smote Mohamet's power, has also broke the Latin church. For three hundred years no great and world-compelling thinker is her son. Now she is a widow. No other church assumes her ancient and imperial rank. The printing press has slain the Pope. Since Luther spoiled the ecclesiastic charm,— still more, since the American and French Revolution wrenched in twain so many a yoke, the Christian church has ceased to lead the religious feelings and philosophic thoughts of men, which whoso rules, holding the heart and head of Christendom, perforce controls the civilization of mankind, and guides the column, and directs the march. The more than apostolic piety, which evangelizes its beatitudes of philanthropy to suffering mankind; the orphic intellect which far

outgoes the mediæval mind, and thinks into being railroads, factories, steam-ships, electric telegraphs, and crystal palaces of mechanic art, or builds up vast commonwealths of men — this is not "divine," or of theologic thought, but natural "carnal reason," "rebellious and profane"— the Christian religion, no doubt, but not Christian theology at all.

The ecclesiastical institutions of Christendom are now to enlightened Europe and America what the Hebrew theology was to the thoughtful Israelites, when "all Jerusalem went out" to John the Baptist; yea, what the classic mythology was in Rome and Athens when Paul of Tarsus set thitherward his manly feet. Now, as then, the more enlightened soothsayers dare not in public look each other in the face, lest the spontaneous laugh betray the calculated cheat; now, as then, the ecclesiastic institution builds tombs to old prophets, while it stones the new; sustains man-stealing, passes fugitive slave bills, whitens its neckcloth, devours widows' houses, and for a pretense makes long prayers. Now, the Sadducee has "renounced the world," and joined the Pharisaic church! Why not? It costs him naught; it is a church of theology, and its "religion has nothing to do with politics;" nothing with trade; nothing with life.

All the great world-sects have done service to mankind; each of the three still living — Buddhistic, Christian, Mohametan — is of value still. Not a Christian sect but has yet some work to do; rears a little herb, else neglected, or picks a crumb which falls from mankind's table, whence even the fragments must be gathered up and nothing lost. The dreadful theology I have spoken of; nay, the five false ideas therein, though the most ghastly errors of human con-

sciousness, have still been of service to the world. He maketh the wrath of man to praise him! What grim laws of our fathers' day went before the humane legislation of their sons! What wars once reddened the land where now but peaceful cities stand! Productive industry; the slave is father of that swarthy queen! Astrology and alchemy were once the sciences which filled the ablest heads of Europe. Without these there had been no Leibnitz and Newton, no Humboldt and La Place. Let us do no injustice to the wild-man, without garments for his limbs, or language for his baby thoughts. Abraham, in the mystic story, could faithfully offer up his son a human sacrifice to his conception of a blood-devouring deity. Let us honor ancient fidelity; when mankind was a child he thought as a child! Nay, let us be patient with men whom defect of nature, or the perversion of their schooling, makes fit to think such sacrifice could ever be commanded by the God who made the world. Chide not the slow march of the red man in the woods, his captive wife bearing his burthens on her feeble back; mock not at his little cockle of bark which barely skims a stream, while our railroad train, on our iron tracks, a town of people in its arms, drives through the land with more than windy speed; or, while our ship, propelled by steam, can bear a burthen of many a hundred tons, and front all the fierceness of the Atlantic sea. By the errors of our fathers, yea, brothers, let us, in all humility, be taught.

Allow all the service which the Christian church has done — nay, more, still does; yet her day of power is long since gone by. The open and professed atheism of a few scientific men, who think they think there is no God; the wide-spread doubt

of thoughtful men, who are not certain of any conscious mind which plans the world and so insures the destination of mankind; the half-acknowledged distrust of immortality; the American politician's scornful denial of any law of God above the lowest lusts of the profligate or the most cruel calculations of the madly ambitious, and the American ministers' cowardly assent thereto; the fact that all reformers who mean the people's good find readiest and longest-continued opposition from the church; the added fact that great masses of sober, thoughtful, moral and religious men and women — farmers, traders, mechanics, scholars too — have no faith in the popular theology, attend meeting only on sufferance, while the minister himself has no confidence in the "foolishness of his preaching," which is not weighty with argument, but only heavy with routine, knows not what to say, and abandons speech on all which touches daily life or a nation's work; — all this shows that the ecclesiastical institutions of Christendom do not, nay, cannot lead the religious man who could know God and love him too; cannot even scare the trader in wickedness who has set his heart on pleasure, office, gold, and power, nor fright the glutton from his beastly lust! The established church of France and England dares not rebuke a governmental sin. In the land of Luther the king is the minister, a German Pope ecclesiastic, all free speech flies even from his colleges, and dwells with "Atheists." The British Bishops are less religious than the "Manchester school of politicians" in the House of Commons; are ever at war with human nature. In 1850, and ever since, you saw how deep this rottenness had forced its way into the American churches. Even the Senate was outdone in practical

atheism; it was the pulpit would send its mother into bondage for ever![6]

But what then? Truth has not perished!

> "The word unto the prophet spoken
> Was writ on tables yet unbroken;
> The word by seers or sybils told,
> In groves of oak or fanes of gold,
> Still floats upon the morning wind,
> Still whispers to the willing mind.
> One accent of the Holy Ghost
> The heedless world has never lost."

No doubt these are times of great danger, and those who have always leaned on the crutch of authority will find it hard to stand when that crutch is broken. But the child must sometime walk alone, or never be a man. It is by experiment that mankind learns to walk. Let us rejoice in the day when humanity assumes the manly dress! One day these ecclesiastical institutions must be left behind us, like so many others long since passed by; and man, through thousand perils, will fare forth to his land of promise, and thence to another yet more fair!

In briefest words, this is what we want: To develop the religious faculty with the same freedom as the intellectual in science, literature, and business. This must be done individually, each one by himself seeking inspiration from the soul of the world, the infinite father, infinite mother; and socially not less — men coming together to quicken each other as iron sharpeneth iron — for the genius of one man, one woman, will kindle ten, yea, ten million, and, at last, the world of men, as a single candle will light a thousand if tipped itself with fire. We must avoid the Roman

error, not count a church infallible; the German error, not worship a book; the mistake of the whole Christian sect, who take Jesus of Nazareth for a finality, as Master, not Servant, sacrifice the development of the race to reverence one great lofty man, and worship as God what they should love as a brother, and as men should have long since outgrown. Thus only shall we get the good of the Catholic and Protestant churches, of the Hebrew and the Christian Bible; thus only learn the life of Jesus — come to God as he came, face to face, with no mediator, nor need of attorneys and go-betweens. Who shall plead to God for me? doth not he know? Though a prodigal, come back from riotous living, my substance spent, shoved away by swine from their husks which I would fain fill myself withal, shame-faced and sorrow-stained, conscious that I am not worthy to be called a son, asking only a servant's bread, I know that the infinite Father sees me a great way off, and the infinite Mother will fall on my neck, enfolding me to the all-bounteous bosom whence I came. Yea, my elder brothers shall take part in the joy over one sinner that repents, because the lost is found again and the dead come home alive!

These are the ideas which will be written on the banner of some future church, and borne as the oriflamme of nations of progressive friends marching out of Egypt to lands of promise ever new:— There is a God of infinite perfection, perfectly powerful, wise, just, loving, and holy, the perfect cause and providence of all that is; he creates from a perfect motive, of perfect material, for a perfect purpose, as a perfect means; the absolute religion is the service of this God by the normal use, discipline, and development of every limb of the body, every faculty of the spirit, and all power

which we possess. We may make a paradise of peaceful industry, and find an immortal Eden too.

Friends and brethren! this day is a marked one in my life. Fourteen years ago, the 19th of May, 1841, I preached an ordination sermon in Boston, "A Discourse of the Transient and Permanent in Christianity." It was the first "ordination sermon" I ever preached; the first separate document I ever published with my own name. It cost me my reputation in the "Christian Church;" even the Unitarian ministers, who are themselves reckoned but the tail of heresy, denounced me as "no Christian," an "Infidel." They did what they could to effect my ruin; denied me all friendly intercourse, dropped me from committees of their liberal college, in public places refused my hand extended as before in friendly salutation; mocked at me in their solemn meetings; struck my name out of their Almanac, the only Unitarian form of excommunication; and in every journal, almost every pulpit, denounced the young man who thought the God who creates earth and heaven had never spoken miraculously in Hebrew words bidding Abraham kill his only son and burn him for a sacrifice, and that Jesus of Nazareth was not a finality in the historical development of mankind. Scarce a Protestant meeting-house in America, not a single theological newspaper, I think, but blew its trumpet with notes of alarm and denunciation. Behold! said they, behold a minister thinking for himself afresh on religion! actually thinking! and believing his thoughts! and telling his own convictions! He tells us God is not dead! that the Bible is not his last word; that he inspires men now as much as ever, even more so. Surely this man is an "Infidel," a "Deist,"

nay, an "Atheist." Down with him! Nay, one venerable orthodox minister, still living, published a letter calling on the authorities of the commonwealth to send this young "blasphemer" to the state's prison for three years, according to law in such case made and provided![7]

So went it with ministers and at Boston. Some of them were honest; theology had blinded their eyes. But other men and women gathered about me, a few at first — some of them ministers — upheld my hands and strengthened my heart, and in their consciousness I saw reflected the facts of my own. Now there are thousands, and voices from distant lands, speaking with other tongues, come o'er the sea with words of lofty cheer. No man in his day of trial had ever heartier, nobler friends — women and men.

Since that, my first attempt, I have had no part in any such ecclesiastical ceremony for fourteen years. Now you, all strangers to my voice, have asked me to come more than three hundred miles to rejoice with progressive friends in the first opening of this new commodious house. The lines have fallen to you in pleasant places. May the spirit of God filling houses made with hands, and transcending the heaven of heavens, dwell with you and bless you for ever and ever. May you

> ————"aloft ascending, breathe in worlds
> To which the heaven of heavens is but a veil,
> All strength, all terror, single or in bands,
> That ever was put forth in personal form;
> Jehovah — with his thunder, and the choir
> Of shouting angels, and the empyreal thrones —
> Them pass you unalarmed. Not chaos, not
> The darkest pit of lowest Erebus,
> Nor aught of blinder vacancy, scooped out

By help of dreams, can breed such hope and awe
As fall upon us often when we look
Into our minds — into the mind of man."
"Beauty — a living presence of the earth,
Surpassing the most fair ideal forms
Which craft of delicate spirits hath composed
From earth's materials — waits upon your steps;
Pitches your tents before you as you move,
An hourly neighbour. Paradise, and groves
Elysian, fortunate fields — like those of old
Sought in th' Atlantic main — why should they be
A history only of departed things,
Or a mere fiction of what never was?
For the discerning intellect of man,
When wedded to this goodly universe
In love and holy passion, shall find these
A simple produce of the common day.
— I, long before the blissful hour arrives,
Would chant, in lonely peace, the spousal verse
Of this great consummation; and by words
Which speak of nothing more than what we are,
Would I arouse the sensual from their sleep
Of Death, and win the vacant and the vain
To noble raptures."
"May your life
Express the image of a better time,
More wise desires and simpler manners; nurse
Your heart in genuine freedom:— all pure thoughts
Be with you; so shall your unfailing love
Guide, and support, and cheer you to the end."

What an admirable opportunity to build up new ecclesiastical institutions with the idea of the infinite perfection of God, and absolute religion, the natural service of the actual God, normal life the sacrament! Here is complete freedom to think as we will, and build our human fabric never so high; no law of man forbids. How intelligent are the men of all these Northern states; the women the best instructed in the world. What is elsewhere not common, temperance and industry, the body's piety, insures us bread. No foreign foe affrights; at home no tyrant sucks the nation's

strength and lies a nightmare on her breast. And how firm are the wide foundations of the democratic commonwealth! How swiftly riches accumulate! What material beauty adorns the affluent land. The wind is not freer than the mind to think, and speak with iron lips, and lightning for its tongue. There are five-and-twenty millions of men, one-fortieth of the world's great family, cradled in a single nest. Oh that there were a church to brood them with not unworthy wings, warm them with sentiments of love and trust in God, feed them with truth, and lead them forth a joyous flock to occupy the land with blessed human life.

What opportunities, and what a waste of them! Has any nation more deserved rebuke? A democracy, and every eighth man a slave! Jesus the god of the church, and not a sect that dares call slavery a sin! The most prominent sects defending it as "patriarchal," even "Christian." Shame on us; the actual Jesus of history we have forgot, worshipping only the fictitious Christ, not Hebrew Mary's Son! There are thirty thousand ministers in the land; what if they all preached natural religion — piety, morality,— and natural theology, the philosophy of that religion! What a world it would soon become! There are more than forty thousand congregations in the one-and-thirty states; what if they all were penetrated with the idea of God's infinite perfection, his perfect power, wisdom, justice, holiness, and love; sought normal inspiration from the soul of all, in whom we live, and move, and have our being; who lives, and moves, and has his being in the world of matter and of mind, yet far transcending both; and served him by aspirations after great, magnanimous, and manly life! One day it will be so; and these great truths will, like the early

light, move around the world waking a morning psalm of beauty in the material heaven above and earth beneath; and from all animated things, and chief of all from spiritual man, persuading forth a conscious hymn of adoration, thanks, and trust, and love, wherein, with well-accordant voice, island shall call to island, and continent respond to continent, and mortal with the immortal go quiring on the eternal and aspiring harmony!

"Nearer, my God, to Thee!
Nearer to Thee!
E'en though it be
A cross that raiseth me,
Still all my song shall be,—
Nearer, my God, to Thee,
Nearer to Thee!'

III.

THE BIBLICAL, ECCLESIASTICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL NOTION OF GOD

1. Conception of God in the Bible.
2. The Ecclesiastical Conception of God.
3. The Natural and Philosophical Idea of God
4. The Soul's Normal Delight in God.

1

CONCEPTION OF GOD IN THE BIBLE

For the Lord thy God is a consuming fire.— Deut. iv, 24.
God is love.— I John iv, 16.

In the human race nothing is ever still; the stream of humanity rolls continually forward, change following change; nation succeeds to nation, theology to theology, thought to thought. Taken as a whole, this change is a progress, an ascent from the lower and ruder to the higher and more comprehensive. Individuals die, special families pass off, nations go under; and a whole race, like the American Indians, may perish, and their very blood be dried up from the ground; yet still mankind survives, and all the material or spiritual good achieved by any race, nation, family, individual, reverts at last to mankind, who not only has eminent domain over the earth but is likewise heir at history of Moses, of the Heraclides, of Egypt, and of the American Indians. So of much that slips out from the decaying hand of the individual or the race, nothing is ever lost to humanity; much is outgrown, nought wasted. The milk-teeth of the baby are as necessary as the meat-teeth, the biters and grinders of the adult man. Little Ikie Newton had a top and a hoop; spinning and trundling were as needful to the boy as mathematical rules of calculation to the great and world-renowned Sir Isaac. The progress of mankind is continous and onward, as much subject to a natural law of development as our growth from babyhood to adult life.

You see this change and progress in all departments of human activity, in religion and theology, as distinct as in spinning and weaving. Theological ideas are instruments for making character, as carpenters' tools for making houses. Take the long sweep of four thousand years that history runs over, and the improvement in theological ideas is as remarkable as the change in carpenters' tools. You see this progress especially in the conception of God, and in the worship that is paid to him conformable to that conception. Here the change is continuous, and the progress is full of encouragement for the future.

What unlikeness in the conceptions of God which Christian men have to-day! The notion of God set forth in certain churches differs from yours and mine more than Moloch differ from Jehovah. Certainly the God which some ministers scare their congregations withal, is to me only a devil — a devil who has no existence, and never appears out of the theological graveyard, where this ghost of buried superstitions "walks" from time to time to frighten men into the momentary panic of a revival.

The Bible has become the sacred book of all Christendom. It is not only valued for its worth, which is certainly very great, but still more for its fancied authority — because it is thought to be a revelation, made directly and miraculously by God, to certain men whom he inspired with the doctrine it contains. Now, God must know himself, and that perfectly, and if he make a revelation thereof, he must portray himself exactly as he is. So it is maintained in all Christendom, that to learn the character of God, you are not to go to the world of matter, or to the world of man, but only to revelation, which mirrors back to you his exact

image and likeness; giving you God, the whole of God, and nothing but God. Accordingly, it is said that the conception of God is the same in all parts of the Bible, howsoever old or new, without variableness or shadow of turning.

But when you come to look at the Bible itself, and study it part by part, and then put the results of your study into a whole, you find a remarkable difference in regard to the character of God himself, that depends on the general civilization and enlightenment of the times and the writers; the further you go back, the ruder all things become. Take the whole of Greek literature, from Homer, eleven hundred years before Christ, to Anna Comnena, eleven hundred years after him, and there is a great change in the poetic representations of God. The same thing happens in the books of the Bible. They extend over twelve or thirteen hundred years; it may be, perhaps, fourteen hundred. Perhaps Genesis is the oldest book, and the Fourth Gospel the newest. What a difference between the God in Genesis and that in the Fourth Gospel! Can any thoughtful man conceive that these two conflicting and various notions of God, could ever have come from the same source? Let any one of you read through the book of Genesis, and then the Fourth Gospel, and you will be astonished at the diversity, nay, the hostility even, between the God in the old book and the new one. Then, and at some subsequent time, look at the various books between the two, and you see what different notions of the Divine Being there are in this "infallible miraculous revelation of God."

Let us look at this great matter in some details, and to see just what the facts are; and to make the whole

matter as clear as noonday light, divide the Bible into its three great parts, the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and the New Testament. In the Old Testament, Genesis may perhaps have been written in its present form, about a thousand years before Christ, though some scholars put it a few hundreds of years nearer our own time; at any rate it seems to have been compiled from ancient documents, some of them, perhaps, existing thirteen or fourteen hundred years before the birth of Christ, though others are clearly later. The book of Daniel, a spurious work, was evidently written between 170 and 160 years before Christ. In the Apocrypha, the book of Ecclesiasticus is, perhaps, the oldest work, and seems to have been written about 180 years before the birth of Jesus. The latest book is the Wisdom of Solomon, of uncertain date. In the New Testament, Paul's Epistle to the Galatians is the oldest, and was perhaps written 58 or 60 years after Christ; the Fourth Gospel, I think, is the last, and was written, perhaps, 120 or 140 years after Christ. There are seventy books in the canonical and apocryphal Bible. With the exception of fourteen prophets, Ezra, Nehemiah, David and Asaph — the two authors of some thirty or forty, perhaps fifty of the Psalms,— we know the name of no writer of the nine-and-thirty books of the Old Testament. Of the Apocrypha we know the name of the writer of the book of Ecclesiasticus, of him no more; of others not even that. In the New Testament it seems clear that Paul wrote the Epistle to the Galatians, that to the Romans, the two to the Corinthians; but I doubt if we are certain who wrote any other of its twenty-seven books! Here, then, out of seventy biblical books, containing the writings of more than

one hundred authors, we know the names of fourteen Hebrew prophets, two psalmists, two other writers in the Old Testament, one in the Apocrypha, one in the New Testament — twenty men! This fact that we know so little of the authorship of the biblical books is fatal to their authority as a standard of faith, but it does not in the smallest degree affect their value as religious documents, or as signs of the times when they were written. I don't care who made the vane on the steeple, if it tell which way the wind blows — that is all I want.

I don't know who reared these handsome flowers; it matters not; their beauty and fragrance tell their own story.[1] We know the time the documents came from, and they are monuments of the various ages, though we know not who made or put them together.

Now look at the conception of God in the first and last of these three divisions. Of course, in the brevity of a morning's sermon I can only select the most remarkable and characteristic things. I shall begin with the oldest part of the Old Testament, and end with the latest part of the New.

I. At first, it seems, the Hebrews believed in many gods, and no effort of the wisest and best men could keep the nation from falling back to idolatry for centuries. It was not until after the Babylonian captivity, which began in 586 B. C., and ended about eighty years later, that the Israelites renounced their idolatry; then contact with monotheistic and civilized people corrected this vice.

At first, in the Bible, Jehovah appears as one God amongst others, and seems to have his council of gods

about him. Next he is the special God of the descendants of Jacob, and called the God of Israel. By and by he is represented as stronger than any of the other gods; he can beat them in battle, though sometimes he gets worsted.

Finally he is the only God, and has regard for all nations, though he still takes special care of the Hebrews, who are his chosen people. The book of Job, I think, is the only one in the Old Testament which makes it appear that God cares for all men alike, and this seems to be the only book in the Old Testament which was not written by a Jew. I think it is one of the latest books in that collection.

Now, see what character is ascribed to God in the earliest documents of the Bible. The first five books of Moses are the oldest; they contain the most rude and unspiritual ideas of God. He is represented as a very limited and imperfect being. He makes the world in six days, part by part, one thing at a time, as a mechanic does his work. He makes man out of dust, in "his own image and likeness," breathes into him, and he becomes a living soul. God looks on the world, when he has finished it, and is pleased with his work, "and behold it was very good." But he is tired with his week's work, rests on the seventh day, and "was refreshed." The next week he looks at his work, to see how it goes on, and he finds that he must mend it a little. All animals rejoice in their mates, but thoughtful Adam wanders lone; he must have his Eve. So God puts him into a deep sleep, takes one of his ribs, makes a woman of it, and the next morning there is a helpmeet for him. But the new man and woman behave rather badly. God comes down and walks in the garden in the cool of the day, calls Adam and Eve, in-

quires into their behavior, chides them for their misconduct; and, in consequence of their wrong deed, he is very angry with all things, and curses the serpent, curses Eve, curses Adam, and even the ground. The man and woman have tasted of the tree of knowledge, and he turns them out of the garden of Eden lest they should also eat of the tree of life, and thereby live forever. By and by God repents that he made man, and "it grieved him at his heart," they behave so badly; so in his wrath he sweeps off all mankind, except eight persons; but after the flood is over, Noah offers a burnt offering, and God smells the sweet savor and is pacified, and says he will not again curse the ground; and he will never destroy the human race a second time.

To know what happens, he must go from place to place: thus he understands that the people are building a tower, and comes near enough to look at it, and, not liking the undertaking, he says, "Go to now, let us go down and confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech:" he scatters them abroad, and they cannot build the tower, which was to reach up to heaven. Afterwards he hears bad news from Sodom and Gomorrah, that "their sin is grievous." He does not quite credit the tidings, and says, "I will go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it, which is come unto me, and if not, I will know." He talks with Abraham, who pleads for sparing the wicked city, beats Abraham in argument, and, "as soon as he had left communing with Abraham," "the Lord went his way."

God appears to men visibly — to Adam, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, and to Moses. He talks with all those persons in the most familiar way, in the Hebrew tongue: "The Lord talked to Moses face to face, as a

man speaketh with his brother." He makes a bargain with Abraham, then with Jacob and his children. It is solemnly ratified, for good and sufficient consideration on both sides. It is for value received. God conveys a great quantity of land to Abraham and his posterity, and guarantees the title; they are to circumcise all their male children eight days after birth; that is the jocular tenure by which they hold Palestine. God swears that he will keep his covenant, and though sometimes sorely tempted to break it, he yet adheres to the oath:

> "And though he promise to his loss,
> He makes the promise good."

He dines with Abraham, coming in unexpected one day. Abraham kills a calf, "tender and good." Sarah makes cakes of fine meal, extemporaneously baked on the hearth. Butter and milk are set forth, and God, with two attendants, makes his dinner!

While Moses was travelling from Midian to Egypt, the Lord met him at a tavern, and "sought to kill him;" but Moses's wife circumcised her son before God's eyes, so God let the "bloody husband" go.

He is partial, hates the heathen, takes good care of the Jews, not because they deserve it, but because he will not break his covenant. He is jealous; he writes it with his own finger in the ten commandments: "I, the Lord thy God, am a jealous God;" and again, "Jehovah, his name is jealous." He is vain also, and longs for the admiration of the heathen; and is dissuaded by Moses from destroying the Israelites when they had provoked him, lest the Egyptians should hear of it, and his fame should suffer.

Look at this account of one of God's transactions in

Numbers xiv. "And the Lord said unto Moses, How long will this people provoke me? And how long will it be ere they believe me, for all the signs which I have showed among them? I will smite them with the pestilence, and disinherit them, and will make of thee a greater nation, and mightier than they." And Moses replied: "Then the Egyptians shall hear it, and they will tell it to the inhabitants of the land;" they will say, "Because the Lord was not able to bring the people into the land which he sware unto them, therefore he hath slain them in the wilderness;" "Pardon, I beseech thee, the iniquity of this people!" So, lest the Gentiles should think him weak, Jehovah lets the Hebrews off for a time, and instead of destroying millions of men at once, he spreads their ruin over several years. "In this wilderness they shall be consumed, and there they shall die!"

He is capricious, revengeful, exceedingly ill-tempered; he has fierce wrath and cruelty; he is angry even with the Hebrews, and one day says to Moses, "Take all the heads of the people (that is the leading men, the citizens of eminent gravity), and hang them up before the Lord against the sun."

Once God is angry with the people who murmur against Moses, and says to him, "Get you up from among this congregation, that I may consume them as in a moment!" Moses is more merciful than his God; he must appease this Deity, who is "a consuming fire." So he tells Aaron, "Take a censer, and put fire therein from off the altar, and put on incense, and go quickly unto the congregation, and make an atonement for them: for there is wrath gone out from the Lord; the plague is begun!" Aaron does so, and the plague was stayed, though not till the fury of the Lord had killed

fourteen thousand and seven hundred men! (Numb. xvi, 41–50). God hates some of the nations with relentless wrath; Abraham interferes, pleading for Sodom and Gomorrah, Moses for the Israelites, but nobody cares for the rest of the people, or burns incense for them, and so God says, "I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven." All the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Hivites, the Perizzites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, and the Jebusites, are to be rooted out — seven nations, each of which was more numerous than the Hebrews: "Thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor show mercy unto them," saith the Lord. The Canaanites and Moabites were kindred of the Hebrews, of the same ethnologic tribe, but they could not enter into the congregation of the Lord unto the tenth generation!

This God — powerful, terrible, partial, jealous, often ill-tempered, wrathful, cruel, bloody — is to be worshipped with sacrifice, the blood of bulls and goats, with costly spectacles by the priesthood, who sacrifice to him in a special place, at particular times; and God gives the most minute directions how all this shall be done, but he is not to be served in any other way, at any other place.

Such seems to have been the conception of God with the leading minds of the Hebrews at the beginning of their national existence, or at the later day when the early books were deceitfully compiled. Now see how much they outgrew it at a later day.

The highest Old Testament idea of God you find in the Proverbs and the later Psalms, which were written only four or five hundred years after the promulgation of those extraordinary documents which I have just

quoted. In these God is represented as all-wise, and always present everywhere. You all remember that exquisite Psalm, the cxxxixth, "Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence?" There God is unchangeable; his eyes are in every place, beholding the evil and the good; no thought can be withheld from him. What grand and beautiful conceptions of God are there in Psalms ciii, civ, cvii! So in almost the whole of that admirable collection, which is the prayer-book of Christendom to-day, and will be till some man with greater poetic genius, united with the tenderest piety, such as poets seldom feel, shall come, and, in the language of earth, sing the songs of the Infinite God.

There is a great change also in the manner of worship. At first it was a mere external act — offering sacrifice, a bull, a goat, a lamb; nay, God commands Abraham to sacrifice Isaac, and the father is about to comply, but the Deity changes his own mind and prevents the killing of the boy. Listen to this from Psalm li, and see what a change there is: "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving-kindness, according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies, blot out my transgressions. Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin. Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from thy presence; and take not thy Holy Spirit from me. For thou desirest not sacrifice; else would I give it: thou delightest not in burnt offering. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit, a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise."

Look at this from Hosea: "I desire mercy and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt-

offering." Or this of Micah: "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God?" What a progress from the early times! But even to the last book of the Old Testament there is the same wrath of God. The world has seen no such cursing as that of the Jews in the name of Jehovah. Take the cixth Psalm, and I will defy the hardest of you to wish worse and crueller things than the author imprecates against his enemies: — "Set thou a wicked man over him, and let Satan stand at his right hand. When he shall be judged, let him be condemned; and let his prayer become sin. Let his days be few; and let another take his office. Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow. Let his children be continually vagabonds, and beg; let them seek their bread also out of their desolate places. Let the extortioner catch all that he hath; and let the stranger spoil his labor. Let there be none to extend mercy unto him; neither let there be any to favor his fatherless children. Let his posterity be cut off; and in the generation following let their name be blotted out. Let the iniquity of his fathers be remembered with the Lord; and let not the sin of his mother be blotted out. Let them be before the Lord continually, that he may cut off the memory of them from the earth. . . . As he clothed himself with cursing like as with a garment, so let it come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones," vs. 6–15, 18. I quote these because they are seldom read, while the devout and holy portions of the Psalms are familiar to all men.

In Bibles which have laid on the pulpit for fifty years, and those read in private from generation to generation, the best parts are worn out with contin-

ous use, while the evil passages are still fresh and new.

I think no Old Testament Jew ever got beyond this: "Was not Esau Jacob's brother? saith the Lord: yet I loved Jacob and hated Esau," (Mal. i, 2, 3). A Psalmist speaks of God as pursuing his enemies with wrath "like a mighty man that shouteth by reason of wine." The Lord God of Israel says to his people, "I myself will fight against you with an outstretched hand, and with a strong arm, even in anger, and in fury, and in great wrath." "I have set my face against this city for evil and not for good." If they do not repent, his "fury will go forth like fire, and burn that none can quench it;" and "this house shall become a desolation."

Here is a terrible picture of the Hebrew God, sketched by the hand of a great master some time after the Babylonian captivity. There had been a great battle between the Edomites and Hebrews; God comes back as a conqueror, the people see him, and the following dialogue takes place:

People:— Who is this that cometh from Edom?
In scarlet garments from Bozrah?
This that is glorious in his apparel,
Proud in the greatness of his strength?

Jehovah:— I that proclaim deliverance,
And am mighty to save.

People:— Wherefore is thine apparel red,
And thy garments like those of one that treadeth the wine-vat?

Jehovah:— I have trodden the wine-vat alone,
And of the nations there was none with me.
And I trod them in mine anger,
And I trampled them in my fury,

So that their life-blood was sprinkled upon my garments,
And I have stained all my apparel.
For the day of vengeance was in my heart —
I trod down the nations in my anger;
I crushed them in my fury,
And spilled their blood upon the ground." *

"Home-keeping youths have ever homely wits," says the proverb; it is not less true of nations than of men. The religious, but idolatrous Jews met a monotheistic people in their captivity in Babylon, and came back with better ideas. Yet much of the old theological evil lingered still. Ezra, Nehemiah, and the author of the book of Daniel, devout men, intensely bigoted, knew only "the great and dreadful God;" that is the name the last of them calls Jehovah. But from the first five books of the Old Testament to the Proverbs and later Psalms there is great progress.

II. You come to the New Testament, and here you do not find much literary excellence in the writers. Wild flowers of exquisite beauty spring up around the feet of Jesus; only in the Revelation do you find any thing which indicates a large talent for literature, neither the nature which is born in the man of genius, nor the art which comes from exquisite culture. The Fourth Gospel was writ, apparently, by some Alexandrian Greek, a man of nice philosophic culture and fancy. Paul had great power of deductive logic. A grand poetic imagination appears in that remarkable book, the Apocalypse. But, taken as a whole, in respect to literary art, the New Testament is greatly inferior to the best parts of the Apocrypha and Old

* Dr. Noyes' translation.

Testament. It compares with Job, the Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ecclesiasticus, and the Wisdom of Solomon, as the works of the early Quakers compare with Hooker, Taylor, Herbert, Cudworth and Milton; and yet, spite of the lack of culture, literary art, and poetic genius, in the New Testament as in Fox, Nayler, Penn, and other early Quakers, there is a spirit not to be found in the well-born and learned writers who went before.

1. In the New Testament, look first at the conception which Jesus has of God. I shall take it only from the first three Gospels. In that according to Matthew I think we have his early notion of God. He calls him Father. The same word is now and then applied to God in the Old Testament, but there I think it means only Father to the Jews, not to other nations. But it seems that some of the Greeks and Jews in Jesus's own time applied it to him, as if he were the father of all men. As Jesus makes the Lord's Prayer out of the litanies which were current in his time, so he uses the common name for the Deity in the common sense. With him God alone is good, and our Father which is in heaven is perfect. "He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." He pities and forgives the penitent, as in that remarkable story of the Prodigal Son. With what tender love does Jesus say, "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, who need no repentance." Such noble thoughts come out in that time as "shines a good deed in a naughty world." But what becomes of the impenitent wicked? God has no love for them; they shall go into everlasting punishment. So alongside of God there is a devil, and to the left hand of

heaven, there is a dreadful, fiery, endless hell, whither a broad way leads down, and the wide gates stand ever open, and many there be who go in thereat.

At first Jesus limited his teachings to the Jews; he would not take the children's bread and give it unto the dogs; he declared that not a jot or title of the Mosaic ceremonial law should ever fail; he told his disciples to keep all that the Scribes and Pharisees commanded, because they sat in Moses's seat. But by-and-by he nobly breaks with Judaism, violates the ritual law, puts his new wine into new bottles. With admirable depth of intuitive sight he sums up religion in one word, Love — love to God with all the heart, and to one's neighbor as himself. Fear of God seldom appears in the words of Jesus. Fear is the religion of the Old Testament. Mercy is better than sacrifice. Men go up to heaven for righteousness and philanthropy, and no question is asked about creed or form. Other men go down to hell for ungodliness; and no straining at a gnat would ever save him who would swallow down a whole camel of iniquity. Human literature cannot show a dearer example of tenderness to a penitent wicked man than you see in the story of the Prodigal Son, which yet the first Evangelist rejected, and two others left without mention.

All nationality disappears before Jesus. His model man is a Samaritan. We hear that word commonly used, and do not understand that the Jews hated a Samaritan as the old New England Federalists hated a Jacobin, as the British used to hate a Frenchman, or as a Southern slaveholder hates a Black Republican [2] to-day. Depend upon it, it created as much sensation amongst men who heard it when Jesus told this story of the Good Samaritan, as it would in Virginia to have

some one represent a Negro as superior to all the "first families" of the state, on account of some great charity that he had done.

I do not find that Jesus altered the common idea of God which he found. He was too intent on practical righteousness to attend to that. Besides, he was cut off when but about thirty years of age; had he lived longer, it may be that he would have reformed the popular notion of God; for there are some things in the words that drop like honey from his lips which to me indicate a religious feeling far beyond his thought.

2. In the writings of Paul you find more speculation about God than with Jesus, for Paul was mainly a theological man, as Jesus was mainly a pious and philanthropic man. Jesus could start a great religious movement; Paul could make a theology out of his hints, and found a sect. But the most important characteristic of Paul's idea of God is this: God's wrath was against all ungodliness in Jew or Gentile, and he was as accessible to Gentile as to Jew. Nationality vanishes, all men are one in Christ Jesus, God is God to all, to punish the wicked and reward the righteous who have faith in Christ; the Jews are as wicked as the rest of mankind, and are to be equally saved by faith in Christ, and by that alone. Paul's Christ is not the Jesus of history, but a mythological being he conjured up from his own fancy. He says that the invisible God is clearly made known by the visible material world, and conscience announces God's law to the Gentiles as effectually as revelation declares it to the Jews. That is a great improvement on the Old Testament idea of God, as presented even in the Psalms.

3. In the Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle attributed to John — both incorrectly attributed to him

— the idea of God goes higher than elsewhere in the New Testament. God is mainly love. He dwells in the souls of men who love each other and love him, and is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, not only in Jerusalem, but anywhere and everywhere. Perfect love casteth out fear.

This God has an only-begotten Son, to whom he has given the spirit without measure, put all things under his hand; he who believes on the son shall have everlasting life, but he who does not believe on the son shall not see life. Christ's commandment is that they love one another, and to those God will give another comforter, the Spirit of Truth, who shall abide with believers forever; nay, Christ will manifest himself to them. But this God has created a devil, who will send all unbelievers into endless torment.

Thus ends the last book of the New Testament. What a change from Genesis to the Fourth Gospel. What a difference between the God who eats veal and fresh bread with Abraham, and commands him to make a burnt offering of his own son, who conveys all Palestine on such a jocular tenure, and the God whom no man hath seen at any time; who is spirit and is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth; who is love, and who dwells with all loving and believing souls! There are I know not how many hundred years between the two — what a series of revolutions! what vast progress of mankind had filled up that brief period of time!

But the idea of God which you gather from the Bible is quite unsatisfactory to a thoughtful and deeply religious man to-day. In the Old Testament there is no God who loves the Gentiles; he made the world for the Jews; all others are only servants —

means, not ends. This being so, the Hebrew thought himself the only favorite of God; his patriotism became intense contempt for all other nations — was a part of his religion. In the New Testament, the God whom even Jesus sets before mankind has no love for the wicked; there is no providence for them; at the last judgment he sends them all to hell, bottomless, endless, without hope; their worm dieth not, their fire is not quenched; no Lazarus from Abraham's bosom will ever give Dives a single drop of water to cool his tongue, tormented in that flame. Jesus tells of God, also of the devil; of heaven, with its eternal blessedness awaiting every righteous man, and of the eternal torment not less open and waiting for every one who dies impenitent. Paul narrows still more this love of God towards men; it includes only such as have faith in Christ; no man is to be saved who does not believe in Paul's idea of Christ. The author of the Apocalypse constricts it still further yet; he would cast out Paul from heaven; Paul is called a "liar," "of the synagogue of Satan," and other similar names. The Fourth Gospel limits salvation to such as believe the author's theory of Christ, that he was a God, and the only-begotten Son of God, an idea which none of the three Evangelists, nor Paul, nor James, nor Simon Peter, seems ever to have entertained. I think that Jesus never held such a doctrine as what Paul and the writer of the Fourth Gospel makes indispensable to salvation.

To the Jews every Gentile seemed an outcast from God's providence. To the early followers of Jesus all unbelievers were also outcasts; "he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned." I find no adequate reason for thinking

Jesus ever spoke these words, found only in the doubtful addition to the second canonical Gospel. Yet there seems evidence enough to show that Jesus himself really taught that ghastly doctrine, that a great wickedness unrepented of entailed eternal damnation on an immortal soul. Paul says human love never fails, it suffers long and is kind, yet both he and the man whom he half worshipped, teach that God has no love for the wicked man who dies in his impenitence; endless misery is his only destination. Neither in the Old Testament nor in the New do you find the God of infinite perfection, infinite power, wisdom, justice, love; it is always a limited God, a deity with imperfect wisdom, justice, love; God with a devil beside him, the created fiend getting the victory over his creator! The Bible does not know that Infinite God, who is immanent in the world of matter and man, and also lives in these flowers, in yonder stars, in every drop of blood in our veins; who works everywhere by law, a constant mode of operation of natural power in matter and in man. It is never the dear God who is responsible for the welfare of all and each, a Father so tender that he loves the wickedest of men as no mortal mother can love her only child. Does this surprise you? When mankind was a child, he thought as a child, and understood as a child; when he becomes a man he will put away childish things.

How full of encouragement is the fact of such a growth in man's conception of God, and his mode of serving him! In the beginning of Hebrew history, great power, great self-esteem, and great destructiveness, are the chief qualities that men ascribe to God. Abraham would serve him by sacrificing Isaac; Joshua, a great Hebrew filibuster, by the butchery of whole nations of men, sparing the cattle, which he might keep

as property, but not the women and children. This was counted service of God, and imputed to such marauders for righteousness. In the notion of God set forth in the Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle ascribed to John, it is love which preponderates, and by love only are men to serve God. With Jesus it is only goodness which admits men to the kingdom of heaven, and there is no question asked about the nation, creed, or form; but this sweet benediction is pronounced: "Inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me;" "Come, ye blessed, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world!"

Shall you and I stop where the New Testament did? We cannot, if we would, and it is impious to try. What if Moses had been content with the Egyptian chaos of a deity, "where every clove of garlic was a god;" what if Jesus had never broke with the narrow bounds of Judiasm; what if Paul had been content with "such as were Apostles before him," and had stuck at new moons, full moons, circumcision and other abominations, which neither he nor his fathers were able to bear; where would have been the Christian church, and where the progress of mankind? No we shall not stop! It would be contraray to the spirit of Moses, and still more contrary to the spirit of Jesus, to attempt to arrest the theological and religious progress of mankind.

God in Genesis represents the conception of the babyhood of humanity. Manhood demands a different conception. All round us lies the world of matter, this vast world above us and about us and beneath; it proclaims the God of nature; flower speaking unto flower, star quiring unto star; a God who is resident therein, his law never broke. In us is a world of con-

sciousness, and as that mirror is made clearer by civilization, I look down and behold the natural idea of God, infinite cause and providence, father and mother to all that are. Into our reverent souls God will come as the morning light into the bosom of the opening rose. Just in proportion as we are faithful, we shall be inspired therewith, and shall frame " conceptions equal to the soul's desires," and then in our practice keep those " heights which the soul is competent to win."

2

ECCLESIASTICAL CONCEPTION OF GOD

The great and dreadful God.— DANIEL, ix, 4.
Our Father which art in heaven.— MATTHEW vi, 9.

In the Religion of civilized man there are three things: piety, the love of God, the sentimental part; morality, obedience to God's natural laws, the practical part; and theology, thoughts about God and man and their relation, the intellectual part. The theology will have great influence on the piety and the morality, a true theology helping the normal development of religion, which a false theology hinders. There are two methods of creating a theology,— a scheme of doctrines about God and man, and the relation between them, viz.: the Ecclesiastical and the Philosophical.

The various sects which make up the Christian church pursue the ecclesiastical method. They take the Bible for a miraculous and infallible revelation from God, in all matters containing the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and thence derive their doctrines,— Catholic, Protestant, Trinitarian, Unitarian, Damnationist or Salvationist. Of course they follow that method in forming the ecclesiastical conception of God, in which the Christian sects mainly agree. They take the whole of the Bible, from Genesis to the Fourth Gospel, as God's miraculous affidavit; they gather together all which it says about God, and from that make up the ecclesiastical conception as a finality. The Biblical sayings are taken for God's deposition as to the facts of his nature, char-

acter, plan, modes of operation — God's word, his last word; they are a finality, all the evidence in the case; nothing is to be added thereto, and naught taken thence away. Accordingly the statement of a writer in the half-savage age of a ferocious people is just as valuable, true, and obligatory for all time, as that of a refined, enlightened, religious man in a civilized age and nation; for they are all equally God's testimony in the case, his miraculous deposition; God puts himself on his *voir dire*, and it is of no consequence which justice of revelation records the affidavit of the divine deponent. The deposition is alike perfect and complete, whether attested by an anonymous and half-civilized Hebrew filibuster, or by a refined and religious Christian philosopher. The statement that God ate veal at Abraham's, or that he sought to kill Moses in a tavern, is just as true and important as this, that "God is love." It is said in the Old Testament that the Lord is a "consuming fire;" he is "angry with the wicked every day," and keeps his anger forever; that he hates Esau; that he gives cruel commands, like that in the thirteenth chapter of Deuteronomy, forbidding all religious progress; that he orders the butchery of millions of innocent men, including women and children; that he comes back from the destruction of Edom red with blood, as described in the sixty-third chapter of Isaiah. In the New Testament he is called Father; it is said that he is love, that he goes out and meets the returning prodigal a great ways off, and welcomes him with large rejoicing.

Now, say the churches, all these statements are true, and the Christian believer must accept them all. Reason is not to sift and cross-examine the Biblical testimony, rejecting this as false and including that as

true; for the whole of this evidence and each part of it is God's affidavit, and does not require a cross-examining, sifting, amending. We are not to reconcile it to us, but us to it; and if it conflict with reason and conscience, we should give them up. All the Bible, says this theory, is the inspired Word of God, and one part is just as much inspired as another, for there are no degrees of inspiration therein; each statement by itself is perfect, and the whole complete. The test of inspiration is not in man; it is not truth for things reasonable, nor justice for things moral, nor love for things affectional. The test is wholly outside of man; it is a miracle — that is, the report of a miracle; and so what contradicts the universal human conscience is to be accepted just as readily as what agrees with the moral instinct and reflection of all human kind. In the third century Tertullian, a hot-headed African bishop, said, "I believe, because it is impossible;" that is, the thing cannot be, and therefore I believe it is! It has been a maxim in ecclesiastical theology ever since; without it both transubstantiation and the trinity would fall to the ground, with many a doctrine more. I think Lord Bacon was an unbeliever in the popular ecclesiastical doctrines of his time; he would derive all science from the observation of nature and reflection thereon; but he left this maxim to have eminent domain in theology! It was enough for him to break utterly with the philosophy of the schools, he would not also quarrel against the theology of the churches; thereby he lost his scientific character, but kept his ecclesiastical reputation.

Joshua, the son of Nun, was a Hebrew filibuster, with a half-civilized troop of ferocious men following him; he conquered a country, butchered the men, women, and children; and he gives us such a picture of

God as you might expect from a Pequot Indian in the days of our fathers. It is taught in the churches that Joshua's statement about God is just as trustworthy as the sublime words in the New Testament, ascribed to John or Jesus; and far more valuable than the deepest intuitions, and the grandest generalizations of the most cultivated, best educated, and most religious of men to-day! The Christian churches do not derive their conception of God from the world of observation about us, or the world of consciousness within us, but from the "Book of Revelation," as they call that collection from the works of some hundred writers, mostly anonymous, and all from remote ages; and they tell us that the teachings of Joshua are of as much value as the teachings of Jesus himself, far more than those of Fenelon or Channing.

Now from such facts, and by such a method, the Christian sects have formed their notion of God, which is common to the Greek, the Latin, and the Teutonic churches; only a few sects have departed therefrom, and as they are but insignificant in numbers, and have had scarcely any influence in forming the ecclesiastical conception of God, so I shall omit all reference to them and their opinions.

To-day I shall not speak of the ecclesiastical arithmetic of God, only the ethics thereof; not of God according to the category of number, the quantitative distribution of Deity into personalities; only of the character of God by the category of substance, the qualitative kind of Deity, for that is still the same, whether conceived of in one person, in three, or in three million, just as the qualitative force of an army of three hundred thousand soldiers is still the same, whether you count it as one corps or as three.

Look beneath the mere words of theology, at the things which they mean, and you find in general that the ecclesiastical conception of God does not include Infinite Perfection. It embraces all the true and good things from the most religious and enlightened writers of the Bible, but it also contains all the ill and false things which were uttered by the most rude and ferocious; one is counted just as true and valuable as the other. Accordingly God is really represented as a limited being, exceedingly imperfect, having all the contradictions which you find between Genesis and the Fourth Gospel; he is not infinite in any one attribute. I know the theological language predicates infinite perfection, but the theological facts affirm exceeding imperfection. Look at this in several details.

1. God is not represented as omnipresent. When the theologian says, "God is everywhere," he does not mean that God is everywhere always, as he is anywhere sometimes; not that he is at this minute present in this meeting-house, and in the air which my hand clasps, as he was in the Hebrew Holy of Holies when Solomon ended his inauguration prayer, as he always is in some place called the heaven of heavens. There are degrees of the divine presence; he is more there and less here. Some spots he occupies by his essence, others only potentially. He was creationally present with all his personal essence at the making of the world, but only providentially present with his instrumental power, not his personal essence, at the governing of the world. Thus the Queen of England, by her power, is present in all Great Britain and the British possession, while by her person she occupies only a single apartment of the palace of St. James in London, sitting in only one chair at a time. So it is taught that God must intervene

miraculously to do his work, must come into a place where he was not before, and which he will vacate soon. So the actual, personal, essential and complete presence of God is the very rarest exception in all places save heaven. He is instantial only in heaven, exceptional everywhere else. He is not universally immanent, residing in all matter, all spirit, at every time, working according to law, by a constant mode of operation and in all the powers of the matter and man, which are derived from him and are not possible without him; but he comes in occasionally and works by miracle. He is a non-resident God, who is present in a certain place vicariously, by attorney, and only on great occasions comes there in his proper person. That is the ecclesiastical notion of omnipresence.

2. He is not all-powerful, except in the ideal heaven which he permanently occupies by his complete and personal presence. On earth he is restricted by man, who thwarts his plans every day and grieves his heart, and still more by the devil, who continually thwarts his creator. I know the ecclesiastical doctrine says that God is omnipotent, but ecclesiastical history represents him as trying to make the Hebrews an obedient people, and never effecting it; as continually worrying over that little fraction of mankind, "rising up early and speaking" to them, but the crooked would not be made straight. Nay, he is unable to keep the Christian church without spot or wrinkle for a single generation, charm he never so wisely; but Paul fell out with such as were apostles before him, and the seamless ecclesiastical coat is roughly rent in twain betwixt the two!

3. He is not all-wise. He does not know how his own creation will work. He finished the world, and found that his one man, running alone, did not pros-

per; it was necessary to make a woman, to help him; she was an afterthought. Her first step ruins the man she was meant to serve; and God is surprised at the disobedience. He must alter things to meet this unexpected emergency; he grows wiser and wiser by continual experiment.

4. He is not all-righteous. He does great wrong to the Egyptians, for he hardens Pharaoh's heart, so that he may have an excuse for putting the king and people to death. He does injustice to the Canaanites, whom he butchers by Joshua; he provides a punishment altogether disproportionate to the offenses of men, and will make them suffer forever for the sin committed by their mythological ancestor, six thousand years before you and I were born; he creates souls by the million, only to make them perish everlastingly. In the whole course of human history, you cannot find a tyrant, murderer, kidnapper, who is so unjust as God is represented by the ecclesiastical theology.

5. He is not all-loving. Of the people before Christ, he loved none but Jews; he gave no other any revelation, and without that, they must perish everlastingly! Since Jesus he loves none but Christians, and will save no more; the present heathen are to die the second death; and of Christians he loves none but church-members. Nay, the Catholics will have it, that he hates everybody out of the Roman church, while the stricter Protestants retaliate this favor upon the Catholics themselves. Nay, they deny salvation to all Unitarians and Universalists, to the one because they declare that the man Jesus was not God the creator; and to the other because they say that God the Father is not bad enough to damn any man forever and ever. You remember that scarcely was Dr. Channing cold in

his coffin, before orthodox newspapers rung with intelligence that he was doubtless then suffering the pangs of eternal damnation, because he had "denied the Lord that bought him." You know the damnation pronounced on old Dr. Ballou, simply because he said men were brethren, and the God of earth and heaven is too good-hearted to create anybody for the purpose of crunching him into hell forever and ever. According to some strict sectarians, God loves none but the elect — an exceedingly small number. It has been the doctrine of the Christian church for fifteen or sixteen hundred years that God will reject from heaven all babies newly-born who die without baptism; the sprinkling of infants was designed to save these little ones, who, as Jesus thought, needed no salvation, but were already of the kingdom of heaven. Accordingly, to save the souls of children ready to perish without ecclesiastical baptism, the Catholic church mercifully allows doctors, nurses, midwives, servants, anybody, to baptize a child newly born, by throwing water in its face in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost and that saves the little thing. But the doctrine of infant damnation follows logically from the first principles of the ecclesiastical theology. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned!"

6. He is not all-holy, perfectly faithful to himself. He is capricious and variable; men can wheedle him into their favorite plans; now by penitence or a certain belief, they can induce God to remove the consequences of their wicked deeds; and the effects of a long life of wickedness will all at once be miraculously wiped clean off from the man's character; he will take the blackest of sinners and wash him white in the blood of the lamb,

and " in five minutes he shall be made as good a Christian as he could become by fifty years of the most perfect piety and morality." Since God is thus changeable, men think they can alter his plan by their words, can induce him to send rain when they want it, or to " stay the bottles of heaven " at their request, to check disease, to curse a bad man, or to prevent and confound the intellect of a thinking man. Hence comes the strange phenomenon which you sometimes see of a nation assembling in the churches, and asking God to crush to the ground another people at war with them; two years ago you saw Englishmen bending their knees in the name of Christ, to ask God to blast the Russians at Sebastopol, and the Russians bending their knees and in the same name asking God to sink the British ships in the depths of the Black Sea!

Put all these things together — God is not represented as a perfect creating cause, who makes all things right at first; nor a perfect preserving providence, who administers all things well, and will bring all out right at last. Even his essential presence is only an exception in the world, here for a moment, and then long withdrawn. According to the ecclesiastical conception, God transcends man in power and wisdom, but is immensely inferior to the average of men in justice and benevolence; nay, in hate and malignity he transcends the very worst man that the very worst man could conceive of in his heart!

I. Now, this idea of God is not adequate to the purposes of science. To explain the world of matter, the naturalist wants a sufficient power which is always there, acting by a constant mode of operation; not irregular, vanishing, acting by fits and starts; but con-

tinuous, certain, reliable; an intelligent power which acts by law, not caprice and miracle. No other God is adequate cause of the universe, or of its action for a single hour.

But the Christian church knows no such God, for all the Biblical depositions concerning him, all the pretended affidavits whence it has made its conception of God, came from men who had no thought of a general law of matter or of mind, and no notion of a God who acted by a constant mode of operation, and who was the indwelling cause of providence of all things that are. Just so far as any scientific thinker departs from that limited idea of God, who comes and goes and works by miracle, so far does he depart from the ecclesiastical theology of Christendom. The actual facts of the universe are not reconcilable with what the ecclesiastical theology teaches about God. This has become apparent, step by step, in the last three centuries.

Galileo reported the facts of astronomic nature just as they were. The Roman church must silence her philosopher, or else revolutionize her notion of God. Had not she God's own affidavit that he stopped the sun and moon a whole day, to give Joshua time for butchery of men, women, and children? Would she allow a philosopher to contradict her with nothing but the universe on his side? He must swear the earth stands still. "And yet it does move though!"

Geologists relate the facts of the universe as they find them in the crust of the earth. The churches complain that these facts are inconsistent with the story in Genesis. "We have," say they, "God's deposition that he made the universe in six days, rested on the seventh, and was refreshed! What is the testimony of the rocks and the stars, to the anonymous record on

parchment, or the printed English Bible?" So the geologist also has a bad name in the churches, many equivocate, and some lie.

For the history of the heavens and earth, theologians would rely on the word of a man whose name even they know nothing of, and reject the testimony of the universe itself, where the footprints of the Creator are yet so plain and deeply set. Zoologists find evidence, as they think, that the human race has had several distinct centres of origination, that men were created in many places; and a great outcry is at once raised. Such facts are inconsistent with the ecclesiastical idea of God! So, to learn the structure of the heavens, the earth, or of mankind, you must not go to the heavens, the earth, or mankind; you must go to the Book of Genesis, and if the facts of the universe contradict the anonymous record therein, then you must break with the universe and agree with the minister, for the actual testimony of things is worth nothing in comparison with the words of a Hebrew writer whom nobody knows!

The great obstacle to the advancement of science, nay, to the diffusion of knowledge, is not the poverty of mankind, not the lack of industry, talent, genius amongst men of science; but it is the ecclesiastical conception of God. Not a step can be taken in astronomy, geology, zoology, but it separates a man from that notion. The ecclesiastical conception of God being thus utterly inadequate to the purposes of science, philosophic men turn off from the theology of Christendom; and some, it is said, become atheists. Look at the scientific men of England, France, and Germany for proof of this. In America there is no considerable class of scientific and learned men, who stand close to-

gether, write books for each other, and so make a little public of their own; so here the scientific man does not stand in a little green-house of philosophy as in Europe, where he is sheltered from public opinion, lives freely, and expands his flowers in an atmosphere congenial to his natural growth, but he is exposed to all the rude blasts of the press, the parlor, and the meeting-house; so is he more cautious than his congeners and equivalents in Europe, and does not commonly tell what he thinks; nay, sometimes tells what he does not think, lest he should lose his public reputation amongst bigoted men! To this there are some very honorable exceptions; scientific men who do not count it a part of their business to prop up a popular error, but who know society has a right to demand that they tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. But if you will take the hundred foremost men of science in all Christendom who are not ministers, I do not think that ten of them have any belief in the common ecclesiastical conception of God. Some have better, nay, a true idea of God, but dare not divulge it; and some, alas! seem to have no notion at all. Accordingly, men of science turn from theology; some become atheists, and all lose much from lack of a satisfactory idea of God. You all know what clerical complaints are made of the infidelity and atheism of scientific men. Three hundred years ago the church suspected doctors, and invented this proverb:— "As many doctors, so many atheists," because the doctors knew facts irreconcilable with the ecclesiastical theology. I think the charge of atheism grossly unjust, when it is brought against the great body of scientific men; but where it is true, it ought to be remembered that in the last two hundred and fifty years the Christian church has had

no idea of God adequate to the purposes of science, and fit for a philosopher to accept; and if it be so, will you blame the philosopher for rejecting what would only disturb his processes? The cause of the philosopher's atheism often lies at the church's door, and not in the scholar's study.

II. But this ecclesiastical conception of God is as inadequate to the purposes of religion as of science. In religious consciousness we all want a God whom we can absolutely rely upon; who is always at hand, not merely separate and one side from the world of matter or the world of man. We want a deity who acts now, and is the Infinite God, who desires the best of possible things for each man, who knows the best of possible things, and has will and power to bring about the best of possible things, and that for all persons. We want a God all-powerful, all-wise, all-just, all-loving, all-faithful; a perfect creator; a perfect provider, who will be just to each of his children. I put it to each one of you — thoughtfulest or least-thinking — is there one of you who will be content with a God who does not come up to your highest conception of power, wisdom, justice, love, and holiness? Not one of you will be content to rely on less! You must falsify your nature before you can do it. But according to the ecclesiastical conception, God is the most capricious, unjust, unreliable of all possible beings. Look at this old and venerable doctrine of eternal damnation, believed by all the Christian sects, save the Universalists, Unitarians, and Spiritualists — not yet a sect — who make at the most some four or five millions out of the two hundred and fifty or sixty millions of Christendom. This is the doctrine:— God is angry with mankind, and will burn

the greater part of them in hell, forever and ever. Why is "his wrath so hot against us?"

1. The Jews are God's ancient covenant people; with them he made a bargain, sworn to on both sides: it was for a good and sufficient consideration, value received by each party; he commanded them to observe the Mosaic form of religion forever; if any prophet shall come, working never so many miracles, and teach them a different conception of God, they must put him to death, and all his followers, with their wives, their children, and their cattle.— DEUT. xiii. But now all these "chosen people" are to be damned forever because they do not believe the theology of Paul and Jesus, whom the divine law commands the Jews to slay with the edge of the sword for teaching that theology. So God commands the Jews to kill every man among them who shall teach the Christian doctrine, and yet will damn them for not believing it.

2. The heathen also are to be damned because they have no faith in Christ, no belief in the popular theology of the Catholic or Protestant sects. But that theology is unreasonable, and thoughtful, unprejudiced men cannot believe it; besides that, the greater part of the heathens never heard of such doctrines, or of Christ; still God will damn them, millions by millions, to eternal torment, because they have not believed what was never preached to them, what they never heard they must believe. Three hundred years ago Spanish Jesuits preached the doctrine of eternal damnation to the heathen at Japan, who asked of the missionaries, "Is it possible that God will damn men forever?" "Certainly, without doubt," was the reply. "And if a man dies who has not heard of these things before, will God damn him forever?" "Yes," was the an-

swer. The whole multitude fell on their faces and wept bitterly and long, and would not believe it. Do you blame them for casting those priests from the island, and saying, "Let the salt sea separate us from the Christian world forever."

3. Then the Christians themselves are not certain of their salvation. The Catholics are the majority, and they say God will damn all the Protestants; the Protestants say the same of the Catholics. The ecclesiastical idea of God in both represents him as ready enough to damn either; and if the first principle of the Catholic church be true, no Protestant can be saved; and if the first principle of the Protestant church be true, then every Catholic is sure of damnation and nought besides.

See how the Protestants dispose of one another.

(1.) All "unconverted" and positively wicked men are to be damned; God has no love for them, only hate.

(2.) All "unconverted" men, not positively wicked; they have no salvation in them; they may be the most pious men in the world, the most moral men, but their own religion cannot save them. They must have "faith,"— that is, belief in the ecclesiastical theology — and be church-members; that is, they must believe as Dr. Banbaby believes, and be voted into some little company called a church, at the Old South or the New North, or some other conventicle.

(3.) New-born babies not baptized must be shut out from the kingdom of heaven, if not included in the kingdom of hell; such has been the doctrine of the Christian church from the time of Justin Martyr, who I think first broached it seventeen hundred years ago, and it follows with unavoidable logic from the ecclesiastical notion of God and the ecclesiastical method of

salvation. So Jesus must have made a great mistake when he took babies in his arms, and blessed them, and said, " Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven; " — he ought to have said, " Suffer *baptized* children to come unto me," etc.

Now what confidence can you have in such a God, so unjust, so unloving, so cruel, and so malignant? I just now said that God is represented as transcending men in hate and malignity. Look at the matter carefully, narrowing the thing down to the smallest point. Suppose there are now a thousand million persons on the earth, and that only one shall be damned; and suppose that some day a hundred years hence, all the nine hundred and ninety-nine million, nine hundred and nine thousand, nine hundred and ninety-nine of us are gathered in the kingdom of heaven, enjoying all the blessedness that divine love can bestow on the vast faculties of man, still further enhanced by the first taste of immortal life; suppose that intelligence is brought to all and each of us that one man is miserable, languishing in eternal fire, to be there forever; suppose we are told that a globe of sand, big as this earth, hangs there before his comprehensive eye, and once in a thousand years a single atom is loosened and falls off, and he shall suffer the cruelest torment till, grain by grain, millennium after millennium, that whole globe is consumed and passed away; and yet then he shall be no nearer the end of his agony than when he first felt the smart. Suppose we are told it was the worst man of all the earth, that it was a murderer, a violator of virgins, a pirate, a kidnapper, a traitorous wretch, who, in the name of democracy sought to establish a despot-

ism in America, to crush out the fairest hopes of political freedom which the sun ever shone upon; or even if it was an ecclesiastical hypocrite, with an athestic heart, believing in no God, and loving no man, who, for the sake of power and ambition, sought to make men tremble at the ugly phantom of a wrathful deity, and laid his unclean hands on the soul of man, and made that a source of terrible agony to mankind! When you are told that this man is plunged into hell for all time, is there a man who would not cry out against the hideous wrong, and scorn heaven offered by such a deity? No! there is no murderer, no pirate, no violator of virgins, no New England kidnapper, no betrayer of his nation, no ecclesiastical hypocrite even, who would not reject it with scorn, and revolt against the injustice. But the ecclesiastical doctrine represents God as thus damning not one man, but millions of millions of men, the great majority of mankind, nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand, and those, too, often the best, certainly the wisest and most loving and pious men! Do you wonder then, that thoughtful men, moral men, affectional men, and religious men turn off with scorn from this conception of God? I wonder not at all. The fact that the majority have not done so only shows how immensely powerful is this great religious instinct, which God meant should be queen within us.

Let me do no injustice. I admit the many excellent qualities ascribed to God in the popular theology; but remember this, that as much as the noblest words of the New Testament add to the conception of God in the worst parts of the Old Testament, just so much also do the savage notions from Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, from the baser Psalms,

and the Prophets, take away from the Father who is in heaven, the spirit who is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth! In this "alligation alternate" one chapter of the Old Testament can adulterate and spoil all the blessed oracles of the New. Jesus is set off against Joshua; the whole of the Fourth Gospel, the Sermon on the Mount, and many a blessed parable, is nullified by a scrap from some ancient Jew who thought God was a consuming fire!

The form of religion demanded of men, in accordance with the ecclesiastical conception of God, certainly has many good things, but it is not natural piety for its emotional part, the aboriginal love of God; nor natural theology for its intellectual part, the natural idea of God; nor natural morality for its practical part, the normal use of every human faculty; but it is just the opposite of these; it has a sentiment against nature, thought against nature, practice against nature. In place of love to God, with trust and hope, and most joyous of all emotions possible to man, it puts fear of God, with doubt, and dread, and despair, the most miserable of all emotions; and in place of love to men, to all men, according as they need and we are able, it puts love only for your own little household of faith, and hate for all who cannot accept your opinions; for out of the ecclesiastical conception of God comes not only the superstition which darkens man's face, clouds his mind, obscures his conscience, and brutalizes his heart, but also the persecution which reddens his hand with a brother's blood. The same spirit is in Boston to-day that in the middle ages was in Italy and Spain. Why does not it burn men now, as once it did in Italy, Spain, and in Oxford? It only lacks the *power;* the wish and

will are still the same. It lacks the axe and faggot, not the malignant will to smite and burn. Once it had the headsman at its command, who smote and silenced men; now it can only pray, not kill.

Such being the ecclesiastical conception of God, such the ecclesiastical religion, I do not wonder it has so small good influence on mankind. Men of science, not clerical, turn off from such a God, and such a form of religion. They are less wise and less happy; their science is the more imperfect, because they do not know the Infinite God of the universe, the absolute religion. With reverence for a great mind, do I turn the grand studious pages of La Place and von Humboldt, but not without mourning the absence of that religious knowledge of God, and that intimate trust in him, which else would have planted their scientific garden with still grander beauty. I do not wonder that men of politics turn off from ecclesiastical religion, and are not warned from wickedness by its admonition, nor guided to justice and philanthropy by its counsels. Look at the politicians of America, England, France, all Christendom, and can you show me a single man of them in a high place who believes in the ecclesiastical conception of God, and in public dares appeal to the religious nature of man, and there expect to find justification of a great thought or a noble plan? No! when such politicians evoke the religious spirit, it is only to make men believe that it is a religious duty to obey any tyrant who seeks to plunder a nation, to silence the press of France, to crush out the life from prostrate Italy and Spain, to send Americans kidnapping in Pennsylvania or New England. The great men of science have broke with the ecclesiastical notion

of God; men of great moral sense will have nothing to do with a deity so unjust; while the affectional and religious men, whose "primal virtues shine aloft as stars," whose deeds are "charities that heal, and soothe, and bless" the weary sons of men, they turn off with disgust from the ecclesiastical God, whose chief qualities are self-esteem, vanity, and destructiveness. One of the most enlightened writers of the New Testament says, "God is love." "Yes," says the ecclesiastical theologian, "but he is also a consuming fire; he gives all his love to the Christians who have faith in Christ, and turns all his wrath against the non-Christians who have no faith in Christ. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; he that believeth not shall be damned."

If a man accepts this notion of God, he can never be certain of his own welfare hereafter; he may hope, he cannot be sure, for salvation does not depend on a faithful use of talents or opportunities; but on right belief and right ritual. And when neither the intuitive nor the reflective faculties afford any test, who knows if his belief is right? The Jews are to be rejected for their faith in Moses and the Prophets. The Fourth Gospel makes Jesus say that all before him "were thieves and robbers;"— I think he never said it. Paul repudiated Peter, if not also James and John; he was a dissembler, and they only "seemed to be somewhat;" while the author of the book of Revelation thrusts Paul out of heaven, consigning him to the synagogue of Satan. Now if Paul and Peter and James and John did not know what faith in Christ meant, and could not agree to live in the same church, and sit in the same heaven, can you and I be sure of admittance there?

While the ecclesiastical conception of God is thus in-

adequate to a thoughtful man's religion, we are yet told that we must never reform this notion! There is a manifest progress in the conception of God in the Biblical books; but in the Christian church we are told that there must be no further step; we must stop with Joshua. "Fear hath torment," says that anonymous, deep-hearted religious writer of the New Testament, seventeen hundred years ago; but "perfect love casts out fear." We are told we must not cast it out, but must have a notion of God, which we must fear! Shame on us! Mankind has made a mistake. We took a false step at the beginning. The dream which a half-savage Jew had of God we take for God's affidavit of his own character. We do not look on the world of matter and mind, to gather thence a natural idea of God, only at the statements of certain men who wrote seventeen hundred or three thousand years ago, men who did well enough for their time, not ours.

All round us lie the evidences against the ecclesiastical conception of God, within us are they yet more distinct. The great mistake of the Christian church is its conception of God. Once it was the best the nations could either form or accept. To-day it is not worth while to try to receive it. It is inadequate for science, either the philosophy of matter or man, explaining neither the condition, the history, nor yet the origin of one or the other. It is unfit for religion; for piety, its sentimental part; theology, its intellectual part; morality, its practical part. I cannot love an imperfect God; I cannot serve an imperfect God with perfect morality.

There will be no great and sufficient revival of religion till this conception be corrected. Atheism is no relief, indifference cannot afford any comfort, and be-

lief makes the matter worse. The churches complain of the atheism of science; their false notion of God made it atheistic. You and I mourn at the wickedness of men in power; is there any thing in the ecclesiastical religion to scare a tyrant or a traitor? In high American office mean men live low and wicked lives, abusing the people's trust, and then at last, when the instincts of lust, of passion, and of ambition fail them, they whine out a few penitent words to a priest, on their death beds, with their last breath making investment for their future reputation on earth, and also in the Christian church! For this mouthful of wind do they pass for better Christians than a whole life of eighty years of philanthropy gave Franklin the reputation for. Thus selfish and deceitful men are counted for saints by the Christian clergy, while the magnificent integrity of Franklin and Washington never gave them a high place in any Christian church! You weep at the poverty of life in the American church — thirty thousand ministers with right of visitation and search on all mankind, and no more to show for it! A revival of religion going on over the whole land — and a revival of the slave trade at the same time, and neither hindering the other! You mourn at the poverty of life in the churches of America, but the church of Christendom is no better — nay, I think the church in the free states of America is its better part; the Christian church abroad strikes hands with every tyrant, it treads down mankind, nor will it be ever checked, while it has such a false conception of God.

Under us is the earth, every particle of it immanent with God; over us are the heavens, where every star sparkles with deity; within us are the heavens and the

earth of human consciousness, a grander revelation of deity in yet higher form. These are all of them a two-fold testimony against the ecclesiastical conception of God. Not one of them has a whisper of testimony in favor of atheism; all are crowded with evidence of the Infinite God,— first good, first perfect, and first fair, Father and Mother to you and me, to all that were, that are, shall be, leading us to life everlasting.

3

NATURAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL IDEA OF GOD

Perfect love casteth out fear.— 1 John iv, 18.

The religious element is so strong that it always will act both in its instinctive and its reflective form, for though here and there an eccentric man neglect or treat it with scorn, no race of men ever does so; nay, no nation, no little tribe, no considerable company of men. There are a thousand devotees who give up all to the religious faculty where there is not a single atheist who sacrifices that to something besides. Like the two other great primal instincts — the hunger for bread, which keeps the individual alive, and the hunger for posterity, which perpetuates mankind — this hunger for God is not to be put down. Here and there an individual man neglects the one or the other, the instinct of food, of kind, of religion; but the human race nor does, nor can. In mankind instinctive nature is stronger than capricious will. Whimsy alters the cut of Ahab's beard, or the shape of Jezebel's ringlets; but the beard itself grows on Ahab's cheek and chin, will he or nill he; and Jezebel's head is herbaged all over with curls, growing while she sleeps.

Soon as man outgrows the wild state of infancy, where he first appeared, in his primitive sense of dependence he has always felt his need of God, as in his instinctive perception he has always felt the being of God reflected therein, and formed some notion of God, better or worse. Go where you will, you find that men know God. The notions they form of him vary from

land to land, from age to age. They are the test of the people's civilization; how rude with the savage! how comprehensive with the enlightened, thoughtful, religious man! But no nation is without them, or without a sense of obligation towards God or the practice of some form of service of him.

The notion men form of God, and the corresponding service they pay, are both proportionate to the people's civilization. The Indian Massasoit's conception of God, two hundred and fifty years ago, fitted him as well as ours fits us. Let us never forget this, nor think that we are proportionately more favored than our fathers were. Little baby Jimmy in Pennsylvania, some seventy years ago, was as much pleased with a penny trumpet, which worried his aunts and uncles, as President Buchanan now is with the presidency of the United States and power to scare all Democrats into obedience. To us our fathers in 858 are barbarians, and we wonder how they stood it in the world, so poorly furnished and provisioned as they were. You will be barbarians to your sons and daughters in 2858, and they will wonder how you continued to live and have a good time of it. Yet you and I think life is decent and worth having. Milk and a cradle are as good for babies as meat and railroad engines for men. Small things suit little folks. So is it in religion as all else besides. I love to read the religious stories of rude nations — the Hebrews, the Philistines, the New England Indians. The Iroquois thought there were three spirits, the spirit of beans, of squashes, and of Indian corn, and these made an agricultural trinity, three beneficent persons in one rude conception of a Mohawk God. Such a notion served their souls as well as the stone tomahawk and snow-shoe their hands and feet.

Let us never forget that each age is as sufficient to itself as any other age, the first as the last. The immense progress between the two is also the law of God, who has so furnished men that they shall find satisfaction for their wants, when they are babies of savage wildness and when they are grown men of civilization.

From the beginning of human history there has been a continual progress of man's conception of God. It did not begin with Jacob, Isaac and Abraham; it will not end with you and me. Yesterday I mentioned some of the facts of this progress in the Bible, and pointed out the Jehovah of the Pentateuch eating veal with Abraham and Sarah, wrestling with Jacob, trying to kill Moses and not bringing it to pass; I showed the odds between that conception of God and "Our Father who art in heaven," which filled up the consciousness of Jesus, and the God who is perfect love, which abode in the consciousness of another great man. This progress is observable in all other people, in the literature of every nation.

Religious progress cannot be wholly prevented; it may be hindered and kept back for a time. This is the mischief, men form an ecclesiastical organization, and take such a conception of God as satisfies them at the time, stereotype it, and declare all men shall believe that forever. They say, "This is a finality; there shall never be any other idea of God but this same, no progress hereafter." Then priests are made in the image of that deity, and they misshape whole communities of men and women; and especially do they lay their plastic hand on the pliant matter of the child, and mismould him into deformed and unnatural shapes. What an absurdity! In 1780, in a little town of Connecticut, Blacksmith Beecher, grim all over with soot,

leather-aproned, his sleeves rolled above his elbows, with great, bare, hairy arms, was forging axes "dull as a hoe," and hoes "blunt as a beetle," yet the best that men had in Connecticut in those days. What if the Connecticut lumberers and farmers had come together, and put it into their Saybrook Platform, that to the end of time all men should chop with Beecher's axes and dig with Beecher's hoes, and he who took an imperfection therefrom, his name should be taken from the lamb's book of life, and he who should add an improvement thereto, the seven last plagues should be added unto him! We all see the absurdity of such a thing.

In 1830, in Boston, Minister Beecher, grim with Calvinism, surpliced from his shoulders to his feet, Geneva-banded, white-choked, a stalwart and valiant-minded son of the old blacksmith, was making a theology — notions of man, of God, and of the relation between them. His theological forge was in full blast in Hanover Street, then in Bowdoin Street, and he wrought stoutly thereat, he striking while his parish blew. But his opinions were no more a finality than his father's axes and hoes.[3] Let Blacksmith Beecher, grim with soot, and Minister Beecher, grim with theology, hammer out the best tools they can make,— axes, hoes, doctrines, sermons, and thank God if their work be of any service at that time; but let neither the blacksmith over his forge, his triphammer going, nor the minister over his pulpit, his Bible getting quoted, ever say to mankind, "Stop, gentlemen! thus far and no farther! I am the end of human history, the last milestone on the Lord's highway of progress; stop here, use my weapon, and die with it in your hand, or your soul." Depend upon it mankind will not heed such

men, they will pass them by; whoso obstructs the path will be trodden down. Progress is the law of God.

At an early age the Christian church accepted the ecclesiastical method of theology, namely, that every word between the lids of the Bible is given by God's miraculous and infallible inspiration, which contains the religious truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; and to get doctrines, men must make a decoction of Bible, and only of Bible, for that is the unique herb out of which wholesome doctrines can be brewed. By that method it formed its conception of God. First, it fixed the ethical substance of God's character, the quality of God, with all the contradictions which you find in the Old Testament and the New. Next it fixed the arithmetical form of God's character, the quantitative distribution into three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, alike in their Godhead, diverse in their function. Thus the capability to produce was in the Father; the capacity of being produced was in the Son; the capacity of being proceeded from was in the Father and the Son, and the capability of proceeding was in the Holy Ghost. These are the *differentia* of the total Godhead. All that was fixed well-nigh fifteen hundred years ago.

Since that time there have been three great movements within the Christian church. First, an attempt to centralize ecclesiastical power in the bishop of Rome; that was the papal movement. Next was the attempt to explain the ecclesiastical doctrines by human reason, not to alter but expound and demonstrate by intellect what was accepted by faith; that was the scholastic movement. Then came at last the attempt to decentralize ecclesiastical power, and bring back from the

Roman bishop to the common people what he had filched thence away; that was the Protestant movement. It split the Western world in twain, following the ethnological line of cleavage; and since that there is a Roman church with a pope, and a Teutonic church with a people. But the papists and their opponents the laists, the scholastics and their enemies the dogmatists, the Protestants and Catholics, all accepted the ecclesiastical method of theology, and so the ecclesiastical notion of God. So within the borders of the Christian church, from the council at Nice in 325 to the council at North Woburn in 1857, there has been no revision of the conception of God, no improvement thereof. Protestant and Catholic, scholastic and dogmatist, laist and papist, agree in the ethical substances of God and in the arithmetical form. The Athanasian creed set forth both; in the fourth century it was appointed to be read in the churches. What is called the "Apostles' Creed" has little apostolic in it save its name; yet it has been held orthodox for sixteen hundred and fifty years. All this time there has been no progress in the ecclesiastical conception of God, as set forth in the great sects of the Christian church; the same creed which answered for the third century suffices the church to-day. So long as the church holds to this ecclesiastical method of theology there can be no progress in the notion of God, for only Biblical plants may be put into the ecclesiastical caldron, and from them all only that conception can be distilled, though it may be flavored a little, diversely here and there, to suit the taste of special persons.

But shall mankind stop? We cannot, if we would. We can stereotype a creed and hire men to read it, or scare, or coax them; but a new truth from God shines

straight down through creed and congregation, as that sunlight through the sky. In the last four hundred years what a mighty development has there been of human knowledge! In three hundred and sixty years the geographic world has doubled; and what a development in astronomy, chemistry, botany, zoology; in mathematics, metaphysics, ethics, history! How comprehensive is science now! But there has been no development in the church's conception of God. The ecclesiastical God knows nothing of modern science — chemistry, geology, astronomy; even the geographic extent of the earth is foreign thereto; neither Jehovah nor the ecclesiastical trinity ever heard of Australia, of the Friendly Islands, nor even of the continent of America. The ecclesiastical conception of God was formed before the discovery of America, before modern science was possible. The two are not to be reconciled. Which shall yield, the fact of science, or the fiction of theology?

Outside of the orthodox Christian church there has been a great development of the conception of God, a revision of it more or less complete, certainly a great improvement. Thus the Unitarians rejected the Trinitarian arithmetic, and said, "God is one nature in one person." The Universalists rejected the devilish element and said, "God is love all over, and is not hate anywhere." Once it seemed as if these two sects would make a revolution in the church's notion of God: but alas! the Unitarians and Universalists both accept the ecclesiastical method of theology, and when they appeal to the miraculous and infallible Bible in support of their more reasonable and religious notion of God, they are always beaten in that court where Genesis is of as much value as the four Gospels, and murderous

Joshua as great a theological authority as beneficent Jesus. So when they rely on the Bible, these sects are defeated, and draw back toward the old church with its belief of a ferocious deity; this explains the condition and character of these two valuable sects. Accordingly, little good has come from their movement, once so hopeful. They would change measures and doctrines, but they would not alter the principle which controls the measure, nor the method whereby the doctrines are made; and so these sects leaven only a little of the whole lump; they do not create that great fermentation which is necessary to make the whole church take a new form. How much depends on the first principle, and the right method!

Now, by the philosophic method, a man takes the facts of instinctive and reflective consciousness within him, and the facts of observation without, and thence forms his idea of God. He will be helped by the labors of such as have gone before him, and will refuse to be hindered by the errors of the greatest men. He will take the good things about God in this blessed Bible, because they are good, but not a single ill thing will he take because it is in the Bible. "God is love," says a writer in the New Testament, and our thoughtful man will accept that; but he will not feel obliged to accept that other statement, in the Old Testament, that "God is a consuming fire;" or yet a kindred one in the New Testament, "These shall go away into everlasting punishment," "prepared for the devil and his angels." He will understand and believe that "He that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God;" but he will not assent to this, which the Christian Church teaches, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be

saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned." Because he accepts the good and true of the Bible, he will not fall down and accept the false and ill; for the ultimate standard of appeal will not be to a book writ with pens, as a minister interprets it, but to the facts of the universe, as the human mind interprets them.

In philosophic men the reflective element prevails; but I do not think they often have much intuitive power to perceive religious truths directly, by the primal human instinct; nor do I think that they in the wisest way observe the innermost activities of the human soul. Poets like Shakespeare observe the play of human passion and ambition better than metaphysicians like Berkeley and Hume, better than moralists like Butler and Paley. Commonly, I think, men and women of simple religious feeling furnish the facts which men of great thoughtful genius work up into philosophic theology. It is but rarely that any man has a genius for instinctive intuition, and also for philosophic generalization therefrom. Such a man, when he comes, fills the whole sky, from the nadir of special primitive religious emotion up to the zenith of universal philosophic thought. You and I need not wait for such men, but thankfully take the truth, part by part, here a little and there a little, and accept the service of whoso can help, but taking no man for master — neither Calvin, nor Luther, nor Paul, nor John, nor Moses, nor Jesus — open our soul to the Infinite God, who is sure to come in without bell, book, or candle.

When a man pursues this natural, philosophic method of theology, takes his facts from consciousness in his own world, and observation in the world of matter, then he arrives at the philosophical idea of the

God of Infinite Perfection. That God has all the qualities of complete and perfect being; he has infinite power to do, infinite mind to know, infinite conscience to will the right, infinite affection to love, infinite holiness to be faithful to his affections, conscience, mind, power. He has being without limitation, absolute being; he is present in all space, at all times; everywhere always, as much as sometimes anywhere. He fills all spirit, not less than all matter, yet is not limited by either, transcending both, being alike the materiality of matter, and the spirituality of spirit — that is, the substantiality which is the ground of each, and which surpasses and comprehends all. He is perfect cause and perfect providence, creating all things from a perfect motive, of a perfect material, for a perfect purpose, and as a perfect means, and to a perfect end. So, of all conceivable worlds he makes the best possible, of all conceivable degrees of welfare he provides the best in kind and the greatest in bulk, not only for all as a whole, but for each as an individual, for Jesus of Nazareth who is faithful, for Judas Iscariot who turns traitor. There is no absolute evil in the world, either for the whole as all, nor for any one as part.

That is the philosophic idea of God and of his relation to the universe. To-day I state it short, for I have dwelt on it often before, and perhaps at some other time I shall take up the idea part by part, and speak of God as infinite power, then as infinite wisdom, then as infinite justice, as infinite love, infinite integrity, and so on.

I think this idea of God as infinite perfection, perfect power, wisdom, justice, love, holiness, is the grandest thought which has ever come into mortal mind. It is the highest result of human civilization. Let no

man claim it as his original thought; it is the result of all mankind's religious experience. It lay latent in human nature once, a mere instinctive religious feeling. At length it becomes a bright particular thought in some great mind; and one day will be the universal thought in all minds, and will displace all other notions of God — Hindoo, Egyptian, Hebrew, Classic, Christian, Mahometan, just as the true theory of astronomy, which actually explains the stars, displaced the Ptolemaic and all the other theories which were only approximate; just as the iron axe displaced the tomahawk of stone.

The evidence of this God is in man's consciousness and in the world of matter likewise outside of him. When the idea is presented to a thoughtful man, he at once says, "Yes, God is infinite perfection, power, wisdom, justice, holiness, love," for human nature is too strong for his theologic prejudice. To prove there is such a being as Jehovah, who met Moses in a tavern between Midian and Egypt some thirty-three hundred years ago, and vainly tried to kill him, you must know Hebrew, and understand the antiquities of the Jews, know who wrote the book of Exodus, where he got his facts, what he meant by his words, what authority he rested on; and when you have made that investigation the story will turn out to be wind, and none the better because Hebrew wind thirty-three hundred years old; and after all that, you do not come to a fact of the universe, but only the fiction of a story-teller. But to prove the infinite perfection of God, you have the facts in your own nature; you are to sit down beside that primeval well and draw for yourself, and drinking thence, you shall thirst no longer for heathen Abana and Pharpar, the rivers of Gentile Damascus, nor for

the Hebrew Jordan itself, for you shall find there is a well of living water within you, springing up to everlasting life; and as you drink, the scales of theologic leprosy fall off from your eyes, and you stand there a clean man, full of the primitive, aboriginal vigor of humanity. As you look down into that depth of consciousness do you behold the eternal and immutable Idea of the infinitely perfect God forever mirrored there. This depends on no subjective peculiarities of the individual, but on the objective forces of the universe. So, by its name to distinguish it from all other notions of God, I will call this the philosophical or natural idea of God; it seems to me a fact given in humanity itself, a self-evident truth of spiritual consciousness, something we discover in the universe, not something we invent and project thereon. So, while I name the other conceptions of God, I call this the idea of God — the philosophical idea, because derived by that method — the natural, because it corresponds to nature. To this men will also add conceptions of their own invention, which partake of the subjective peculiarity of John or Jane.

I. This idea of God is adequate to the purposes of science. First of all things the philosopher wants an adequate cause for the facts of the universe, both the world of matter out of him, and the world of spirit in him. He is to explain facts by showing their mode of operation, and tracing them back to the cause — to the proximate cause first, to the ultimate cause at last. Now, as I showed before, the ecclesiastical conception of God furnishes no adequate cause for the facts of the universe. To the theologian it is cause sufficient for Noah's flood, for the ark, for the downfall of Jer-

icho when the rams'-horns blew, for the standing still of the sun and moon while a Hebrew army slew their victims; it explains such things as are not authenticated facts of history, but only anonymous fictions of mythology. It is no adequate cause for the earth under our feet, for the heavens over our head, and, least of all, for this earth and heaven of human consciousness within us. The ecclesiastical God is sufficient cause for the Westminster Catechism, for baptism by sprinkling or plunging, for belief in eternal damnation, for admission to Dr. Banbaby's Church; but it does not explain a mother's love for her wicked, profligate girl; nor David's wailing over his worthless, handsome boy: "O Absalom, my son! my son Absalom! would God that I had died for thee!"— there is no fact in the ecclesiastical God's consciousness which corresponds to that. It is not cause for such a man as Socrates, or Franklin, nor such women as Miss Dix and Miss Nightingale, and others not less noble, only less known. It explains Pharaoh's dream about fat and lean kine; the story of Elisha's cursing the children who cried after him, "Go up, thou bald head, go," and of the two she-bears out of the woods who tore two and forty of those children to atoms in divine and bearish wrath; but it does not explain the life of such a man as Jesus of Nazareth, nor his lament, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem!" It does not account for that grandest of human triumphs, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." To explain such characters the ecclesiastical conception of God is no more adequate cause than the penny-trumpet in a little boy's mouth is sufficient to explain the world of music which Beethoven dreamed into thought and then poured forth, gladdening the earth with such sweet melody. Read the book of Gene-

sis, then read Newton's Principia, Humboldt's Kosmos, nay, any college manual of chemistry, and ask if the theologic God is cause adequate to the chemic composition of a single flower! Nay, read the stories in Genesis, or the sermons in Jonathan Edwards, and then in some starry night look up to the sky, and ask if that form of deity could have conceived the heavens? You see at once how insufficient it is.

But the God of infinite perfection is adequate cause for all the facts in the universe. In the world of matter you find power resident on the spot, mind resident on the spot, a plan everywhere, things working together in order. The world of matter is a "team of little atomies," thing yoked to thing, and skilfully are they drove afield by that Almighty One whose thoughtful road is everywhere. All is orderly, never a break in the line of continuity. In the fossil animals which perished a million of years ago you find proximate formations which point to man; nay, yet further back in the structure of the earth, the fashion of the solar system itself, do we find finger-posts which indicate the road to humanity, distinctly pointing unto man. There is law always, a constant mode of operation, never a miracle; no chemist, geologist, astronomer, can show proof of the "intervention of God;" but the power, mind, law, constant mode of operation, these show the presence of God always, everywhere, ordering all things "by number and measure and weight." The chemist analyzes matter into some sixty primitive substances, oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, carbon, and the rest; but of all that "team of atomies" not a single brute creature ever thinks a thought! it is in God that the mind resides, in him is the power and the plan. Mr. Whewell, a theological man indeed, but yet also, I think, cer-

tainly one of the ablest and most dispassionate men of science in these days, writes a book against the Plurality of Worlds, and declares there is no conscious life analogous to man's in any planet, in sun, or moon, or star; it is a dead world up there; the sun is a dead sun, the moon is dead as brass, and there is no life in any star. Why so? It is not consistent with the ecclesiastical notion of God; the book of miraculous revelation never gives us a hint of a living thing in sun or moon or star; the plan of atonement applies only to the earth, it cannot reach an inch beyond the atmosphere, which extends about fifty-two miles from the surface! Mr. Whewell is right — a plurality of worlds is wholly inconsistent with the ecclesiastical God; there is no record that such a thought ever crossed the mind of Moses, Jesus, Paul or John, that it ever occurred to Hebrew Jehovah or Christian Trinity. But it is not inconsistent with the infinite god, and the philosopher who believes in him will not correct the facts of nature by the fictions of Genesis. To him, how different the world of matter appears, one grand act of creative power, which is everywhere active at all times.

Then, when this idea is accepted no philosopher will be bid to look for a miracle, and called an "infidel" because he finds only law — law in the botanic growth of plants, law in the chemic composition of minerals, law in the mechanic structure of the earth, the sun, the solar system, the universe itself. Then there will be no atheistic Lagranges and La Places to deny all God, because they do not find the phantom which theologians bid them seek, and because their telescope bores through the spot where the New Jerusalem was said to be and finds but blank celestial space! From the scheme of matter and of mind no brilliant Schelling, no cau-

tious, erudite von Buch, no comprehensive, magnificent, generous, and thousand-minded von Humboldt shall ever omit the cause and providence of matter and of mind!

Then, too, how different will the great complex world of human history appear! Men will study it without hindrance, asking only for facts, for the law of the facts, and the human meaning of the law. They will find no miracle in man's religious history, but a continual development of a faculty common to all mankind, a gradual progress in religious feeling, religious thought, religious act; no savage nation without consciousness of God, a sense of dependence, obligation, gratitude; aye, and trust in him, and something of love for him "even in savage bosoms"— all this proportionate to the people's civilization. The philosopher will find God in all human history, in the gradual elevation of mankind from the low state of the wild man, to higher and higher types of excellence.

Jehovah is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; he inspires only Jews, them not much. He hates Esau, and butchers the Canaanites. To the Gentiles he is not a loving God, but a hating devil. The ecclesiastical God is a redeemer only to the redeemed — a handful of men, rather mean men too, I fear, most of them. What is he to babies dying unbaptized? What to the wicked whom death cuts down in their unrepented naughtiness? He is not God, but a "consuming fire;" he is "the devil and his angels" to such; not the God of love, but a "great and dreadful God," who laughs when their fear cometh, and crushes Sodom and Gomorrah under his fiery hail; and, all bloody with battle, tramples populous Idumea under foot, as a Bac-

chanalian treads the wine-press full of purple-blooded grapes!

With the philosophical idea, there is a God for all nations, for all men, inspiring liberal Greece and prudent Rome not less than pious Judea—a God for babies sprinkled, and for babies all unsmooched by priestly hands; a God for Jacob and Esau, Jew and Gentile; a God to whom mankind is dear, Father and Mother to the human race! Then you can explain human history: the diverse talents of Egyptian, Hindoo, Persian, Hebrew, Greek, Teuton, Celt, American, these are various gifts, which imply no partial love on the part of him who makes yon oak a summer green, yon pine a winter green. You find the Infinite God in human history, as in the world of matter; for as the plan of material combination, mineral, vegetable, animal, did not reside in any one of the sixty primitive substances, nor in the world of minerals, plants, animals, but in God, who is the thoughtful substance to these unthinking forms — so the plan of human history is not in Abraham, Isaac, Jacob; it is not in the whole world of men, but in the Infinite God, who is the providence that shapes our ends to some grand purpose which we know not of. Thus the true idea of God is adequate to the purposes of science both of matter and man.

II. This idea of God is also adequate to the purposes of religion. For that I want not merely a cause sufficient to my intellect, but much more. I want a God I can trust and have absolute confidence in, so that I am sure of him. Now the savage may confide in a God of blood, a partial God, who loves Jacob and hates Esau; an inconstant and irregular God, who works by fits and starts, who is absent now for a long time, and then

comes in with miraculous pomp, signs, and wonders. A malignant man may be content for a moment with his vengeful deity, who hates the wicked and will torment them forever; but soon as a man is considerably enlightened in his mind, conscience, heart and soul, soon as he comprehends the power that is everywhere always, active and acting for good, then that savage deity is not enough for him. He wants not only infinite ability,— power of force to do, power of mind to plan, and will to execute, but also power of conscience to will right, and the infinite power of affection to love all men and all things, using this energy of will, mind, force, for the welfare of each man — nay, of every mote that peoples this little leaf. That quality is not in the ecclesiastical God; here it is in the true God of earth and heaven and human consciousness. He is perfect creating cause, making all things of the best possible material, from the best possible motives, for the best possible purpose, and as the best possible means to achieve that purpose. He is perfect conserving providence, who is as perfectly, completely and essentially present in this little rosebud which I hold in my hand, as he was when, as the Biblical poet has it, "the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy," at the creation of the earth, just springing into new-born stellar life. He administers all things by the perfect method, with the best of means, and will secure the best of ends for you and me, for each man, saint and sinner, for the poor widow who supplicates and the unjust judge who fears not God, neither regards man.

By the ecclesiastical notion there is absolute evil in God, a dark deep background, out of which comes evil in the nature of things; and hence comes the total de-

pravity of man, hence the wrath of God, enlivening forever the fire of hell, which no deluge of human tears and blood can ever quench. So the evil in the world is eternal, not reconciled, not atoned for; it cannot be removed, neither in this life nor that to come, because it is an essential part of God. Nine hundred and ninety-nine men out of a thousand are sinners, and their sin is eternal, not to be removed; so their agony has no end. Trace it back logically to its ultimate cause, and it is all God's fault. So every sin not repented of that you and I commit, is not only perpetual wretchedness for us, but likewise an eternal blot on the character of the ecclesiastical God. Under the parlor windows of his little heaven, where the elect loll on their couches and look out, indolently touching their harps of gold, there lies the immeasurable sink of hell, where the devils, those unclean beasts of the infernal world, wallow continually, rending the souls of men, while the reek of their agony ascends up forever and ever!

But by the true and philosophic or natural idea of God, all the evil of the world is something incident to man's development, and no more permanent than the stumbling of a child who learns to walk, or his scrawling letters when he first essays to write. It will be outgrown, and not a particle of it or its consequences shall cleave permanent to mankind. This is true of the individual wrongs which you and I commit; and likewise of such vast wickedness as war, political oppression, and the hypocrisy of priesthoods. These are blots in mankind's writing-book, which we make in learning to copy out God's eternal rule of right in fair round letters, so clear that he may read who runs. The very pain the error gives is remedial, not revengeful; it is medicine to cure and save and bless, not poison to kill

and torture with eternal smart. Here then is a God you can trust — power, wisdom, will, justice also, and likewise love. What quality is there a man can ask for that is not in the Infinite, Perfect God?

Then there will be a form of religion adapted to represent such an idea of God. It will conform to Man's nature, his body and soul, doing justice to every part, for as God made man with such faculties as would best serve his own great end, so it is clear that it is man's duty to use these faculties in their natural way, for their normal purpose. God did not make man with something redundant to be cut off, or lacking something to be sought elsewhere and tied on; he gave us such faculties as are fit for our work.

1. See the effect this idea has on piety. A natural religious instinct inclines us to love God. If we have an idea of him which suits that faculty, then the soul loves God as the eye loves light, the ear sound, as the mind loves truth, use and beauty, the conscience justice, and the affections men and women. The hungry religious faculty seeks for itself bread, finds it, and is filled with strength and delight. If it find it not, then we are tortured by fear, that ugly raven which preys on the dissatisfied heart of man. Now the Infinite God is the object of entire and complete satisfaction to the soul. You want perfect power for your reverence, perfect wisdom for your intellect, perfect justice for your conscience, perfect love for your affections, perfect integrity for your soul: and here they all are in the infinitely perfect God. So piety will be complete in all its parts, and perfect too in each. I cannot love a wicked man as a good man, nor a foolish and unjust man as one wise and just; no more can I love a foolish

God, nor an unjust God, nor a hating God. In proportion as I am wise, just, humane, shall I hate such a God, and repudiate the shameful thought. But the perfect God — I cannot help loving him just in proportion to my excellence. He made me so. I put it to the consciousness of every one of you, is it not so? When God is thus presented as infinitely perfect, can you refrain from loving him with your intellect, your conscience, heart and soul? No more than the healthy eye can fail to enjoy the light; no more than the hungry, healthy appetite can help rejoicing in its natural food, the maiden in her lover, or the bridegroom in his bride!

2. Not less does this idea of God affect morality, the other part of religion. I find certain ideal rules of conduct writ on my body and in my spirit. By inward and outward experience gradually I learn these rules — the laws of God, enacted by him into my flesh and soul. I shall try to keep these laws; I know they are his commandment. I shall turn every faculty to its special work. My general piety, the love of God, shall come out in my normal daily work, in temperance and chastity, the piety of the body; in knowledge of the true, the useful, the beautiful, the piety of the intellect; in justice for all men, the piety of the conscience; in affection for all in their various relations to me, in love for my friend, kindred, wife and child, which is the piety of the heart; yes, it will appear in continual trust, in absolute reliance on the Infinite God, which is the great total generic piety of the soul.

Then religion will not be away off, one side of my life, separate from my daily duty as brother, sister, son, father, mother; not apart from my work as blacksmith, governor, shoemaker, minister, nurse, seamstress,

baby-tender, cook, editor, judge, or whatever I may be; but the soul of piety will make religion in all these things. It will not be an exception in my life, condensed into a single moment of morning or of evening prayer; it will be the instance of my life, spread as daylight over all my work.

One day this idea of God will shine in human consciousness, and all the rude conceptions which now prevail will vanish as Moloch, Baal, Zeus, Jupiter, Odin, and Thor have faded out from the religion of all live mankind. To-day nobody prays to nor swears by these names, whereunto millions of men once fell prostrate and poured out such sacrificial blood. One day the God of Infinite Perfection shall be felt and known by all mankind! Then no bigot, ignorant as a beast, shall essay to rebuke thoughtful men where he knows nothing and they know much. No longer shall priests — ill-born to little talent, ill-bred to superstition, ignorance and bad manners — thrust their anointed stupidity in between man and God; no longer shall fanaticism pinch the forehead of the people; no longer shall it mutilate the fair body of man, nor practise yet more odious emasculation on the soul. Religion shall not mildew and rot the fruit of manhood, nor blast the bloom of youth, nor nip the baby bud; but the strongest force in our nature shall warm and electrify the whole plant of humanity, helping the baby bud swell into youthful bloom, and ripen into manly fruit, golden and glorious amid the sheltering leaves of human life. To youth, religion shall give a rosier flush of healthy joy; to maid and man shall it bring strength, more stalwart and a lovelier beauty, cheering them through their single or their married toilsome

life; and it shall set its kingliest diadem, a crown of heavenly stars, on the experienced brow of age.

To-day "all Christendom is Christian." Why? It has the ecclesiastical method, the ecclesiastical conception of God, a mode of salvation by another man's religion, not our own. Let me do no injustice. It has the best form of religion the world has devised yet on any large scale, which has done great service; but in all Christendom ecclesiastical Christianity hinders no war, it breaks no tyrant's rod, it never liberates a slave, emancipates no woman, shuts up no drunkery, removes no cause of ignorance, poverty, or crime, cherishes the gallows; it is no bar to the politician's ambition, all reckless of the natural rights of man; it never checks a pope or priest in his hypocrisy. Every monster is sure to have this ecclesiastical form of religion on his side, and when Napoleon or President Buchanan wishes to do a special wicked deed, he bends his public knees and supplicates his ecclesiastic God, the name in which all evil begins.

But the true idea of God, the religion which is to come of it, which is love of that God and keeping all his commandments, will work such a revolution in man's affairs as Luther, nor Moses, nor yet mightiest Jesus ever wrought. God everywhere, infinite wisdom, justice, love, and integrity, religion in all life, over the anvil, in the pulpit, beside the cradle, on the throne — what a new world shall that make, when the great river of God runs in the channel he made for it, singing melodies as it runs, and sending the spray up from its bosom to fertilize whole continents, which shall break out into flowers, that ripen into fruit, the very leaves for the healing of the nations!

4

THE SOUL'S NORMAL DELIGHT IN GOD

"I will behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness."— Ps. xvii, 15.

If a man be sure of the infinite perfection of God, the natural object of desire for all his nobler faculties, what tranquillity and delight is there for him; not spasmodic and violent, but equable and continuous! Then the strongest of all the human powers finds what most of all it needs; and the highest, the greatest of all human delights peoples the consciousness with this holy family of love. I do not wonder that all men are not rich — it is not possible; nor famous — that, too, is beyond the reach of all save one in a million, even if each were so foolish as to wish he had a great name always rattling behind him, filling his ears with dust and silly noise. It is not to be supposed that all men will pre-eminently be wise, or witty; nay, not even learned. It does not astonish me that no more try for such things, though feeling yet their charm. But I am amazed that any one should be content to trudge along through life without a good culture of the religious faculty. I should of all things hate to be poor in piety and mortality. Above all things I would know God and live in tranquil gladsomeness with him.

When a little boy, I used to hear ministers preach that the natural man did not love God; but I was sure the natural boy did. They said that religion was something man naturally turned off from and avoided, and only the Holy Ghost could catch and bring him

painful back. I confess I was filled with wonder, for to my young experience it seemed as natural for a man, at least a boy, to worship God, to love God, to trust in him, and feel a delight in him, as it was for my father's bees to get wax and honey from the yellow blossoms of the willow or the elm — the first flowers of the late northern Spring — or to revel in the lilacs which hung over the bee-house, or rejoice in the white clover of New England, that, beautifying the fields all around, wooed those little bridegrooms to its fragrant and sweet breast. No theological education and gray-bearded experience with mankind makes me now wonder less when I hear the old calumny repeated for the thousandth time.

Look all the world over, and see how man delights in God! These roses do not unveil and disclose their fair bosoms to the sun more naturally than spontaneous man opens his soul to God and welcomes the great star, shedding infinite daylight therein. Men with fire sacrificing their sons unto Moloch, or Jehovah, men crushed before the car of Juggernaut, men in convents, women emaciated to nuns, crowds of men in Philadelphia, New York, Berlin, and London, thrilled with bristling horror at the terrible phantom which some bony Calvinist calls out of his dark imagination to scare them withal, these testify of the necessity man feels to turn his face towards God; and if he find not the true, then will he fasten on some cheating substitute. If there be no God that he can love, then he crouches down beneath the conception of some God of damnation, and is horrified with fear. The soul, like the mouth, goes ever, and must be fed, if not on what it would, then at least on the best it finds.

Mankind takes great delight in its religious con-

sciousness. With what joy did Egypt build up its pyramids, and from a mountain Brahmanic Indians hew their rock-cut temples out! The wondrous architecture of the Ionian Greeks in many a marble town, the fantastic mosques of the Mahometans, the arabesques of Moslem piety, the amazing churches of the mediæval Christians — all these were built with solemn joy! Not without delight did laborious men express the nation's gloomy religious consciousness in these things. Phœnicians worshipping Melkarth, Siamese prostrate before their great idol of a silver Buddha, Nootka Sound Indians all a rainy day sitting on the eaves of their god-house and drumming with the naked feet, Catholics on Easter Sunday, kneeling by thousands before St. Peter's that the Pope may say "Peace be with you!" Protestants crowding to a camp-meeting or a revival — all these are witnesses to this great religious instinct, stronger than all outward force, which moves them toward the divine.

I think my own life has not been lacking in happiness of a high character. I have swam in clear sweet waters all my days; and if sometimes they were a little cold, and the stream ran adverse and something rough, it was never too strong to be breasted and swam through. From the days of earliest boyhood, when I went "stumbling through the grass," "as merry as a May bee," up to the gray-bearded manhood of this time, there is none but has left me honey in the hive of memory, that I now feed on for present delight. When I recall the years of boyhood, youth, early manhood, I am filled with a sense of sweetness, and wonder that such little things can make a mortal so exceeding rich! But I must confess that the chiefest of all my delights is still the religious. This is the lowest down, the in-

wardest of all; it is likewise highest up. What delight have I in my consciousness of God, the certainty of his protection, of his infinite love! There is an Infinite Father — nay, Infinite Mother is the dearer and more precious name — who takes a special care of me, and has made this world, with its vast forces, to serve and bless me, an Elias chariot on which I shall ride to heaven — nay, am riding that way all the time! God loves me as my natural mother never did, nor could, nor can even now with the added beatitudes of well-nigh two score years in heaven. I stand on the top of the world — all the stars shine for me. But he loves just as well the little boy, black as my coat, born this hour in some wigwam of South Africa, and will take just as special care thereof, and has made the universe a chariot of fire to translate that little black Elias to heaven withal; he also stands on the top of the world and has a life-estate in the sun and moon and every star. Nay, God takes just as good care of the mouse which gnaws the grocer's cheese to-day, nor never for a moment neglects the little aphis now sucking this leaf; nor the parasitic animalcule which feeds on the aphis, the atomy of an atomy. They also stand on the top of the world, this great celestial sphere whereof God is both centre and circumference. Consciousness of that God, the cause and providence of all the world, it fills me with such delight as all the world besides can never give! I wonder any one who ever opened half an eye inwardly, could dream that religion is unnatural to man, that piety is not welcome to our innermost as are these roses welcome to the spring. For what I say of me is also true of you, if not of each, why, certainly, of most — 'tis true of man, if not of men.

In great Italian towns, all winter long, you shall see

men and women, too old, perhaps, for work, yet not quite poor enough for professional beggary, wrinkled as Egyptian mummies; they crawl out of their hovels and creep through the cold darkness of the lanes they live in, and, screened from the wind under the wall of some great church, palace, or monastery, they nestle all day in the yellow sunshine of the sky, so happy in that light which gives them also necessary warmth do those venerable babies seem, blest by that great star which shines forever on them, though six and ninety million miles away! In New England or Pennsylvania, when the spring thaws out the farm-house, and, speck by speck, the dry earth appears green with healthy grass, and the fresh smell of the ground, such as you find it at no other time, comes up a wholesome breath, some pale, little tall girl, toddling about the narrow kitchen all winter long, looking thin and peaked, comes out to revel in the sunshine and the new grass. The breath of the ground is the inspiration of health to her; the eye, dim and sunken just now, ere long glows like the morning star in that young heaven, and the pale cheek has the bloom of the ruddy clover in it too. By-and-bye, the mother, careful and troubled about many things, tells the neighbors at meeting on Sunday, "O, Jinnie's quite another girl now the spring's come from what she was in February and March. The winter went hard with her, poor thing; I and her father begun to think she'd melt away before the snow did! I think she'll get along nicely now!" What the sun is to the sickly girl whom winter pent up in the narrow house, and to the lazzaroni at Naples, whose poverty allows him no nearer fire and light, that is the religious consciousness to you and me; yes, to all men in all lands, in every age save the rudest of all.

I do not see how any one can live without it; I think none ever does. As the body on the material world, so the soul must live on God, that universal motherly bosom to warm and feed mankind. All over the world do you find the sweet and holy flower of piety springing out of the ground of humanity, common as grass on the earth, or stars above it. Early literature is full of religion. Man's first psalm is of God; so little babies first of all things say mamma, papa. Theology is the oldest of all science — this queen mother of many knowledges. Amid all the babble of shrewd, noisy tongues, this language of heaven, spoken in a still small voice, is yet understood of all mankind. Civilized people have their Bibles,— Chinese, Indian, Persian, Hebrew, Christian, Mahometan, writ with pens, but yet thought-inspired of God. The savage also has his Bible, far older, yet not writ with pens. Mr. Cartier, who went among the North American Indians in the sixteenth century, says: "A day seldom passes with an elderly Indian, or others who are esteemed wise and good, in which a blessing is not asked or thanks returned to the Giver of all life, sometimes audibly, but most generally in the devotional language of the heart." Another missionary amongst them says, when the Indian party broke up their winter encampment, they went to the spring which had furnished them water, and thanked the Great Spirit who had preserved them in health and safety, and supplied their wants. "You then witness the silent but deeply impressive communion which the unsophisticated native of the forest holds with his Creator."

"Every human heart is human,
And even in savage bosoms
There are longings, yearnings, strivings,

For the good they comprehend not;
And the feeble hands and helpless,
Groping blindly in the darkness,
Touch God's right hand in that darkness,
And are lifted up and strengthened."

Do not think that God knows only such as "know Christ," or Moses. He is no respecter of persons. The footsteps of religion, you see them in the dew of the world's early morning; they are deeply set in the primeval rock of human history. How multitudinous are the conceptions of God, all meant to satisfy the soul which longs for him! The appetite for food, the instinct for dress, how many experiments they make! Humanity could not dispense with one of them.

"The lively Grecian in a land of hills,
Rivers and fertile plains and sounding shores,"
"Could find commodious place for every God."
"In despite
Of the gross fictions chanted in the streets
By wandering rhapsodists, and in contempt
Of doubt and blind denial, hourly urged
Amid the wrangling schools, a SPIRIT hung,
Beautiful vision, o'er thy towns and farms,
Statues and temples and memorial tombs;
And emanations were perceived; and acts
Of immortality, in nature's course,
Exemplified by mysteries that were felt
As bonds on grave philosopher imposed
And armed warrior; and in every grove
A gay or pensive tenderness prevailed,
When piety more awful had relaxed."
"And doubtless sometimes a thought arose
Of life continuous, being unimpaired:
That hath been, is, and where it was and is,
Then shall endure — existence unexposed
To the blind walk of mortal accident;
From diminution safe, and weakening age,
While man grows old and dwindles and decays;
And countless generations of mankind
Depart, and leave no vestige where they trod."

Trust me, none is wholly without God in the world. Even in the wickedest of men there must be yet some line of light lying along their horizon, where the great heavenly sun, unseen, unknown, refracts his rays in the dense air, and stooping down, touches with fire the edge of their little kingdom of earth; at least some little northern light of superstition, which is also a dawn, flickers in their cold, cloudy sky; else in their Arctic winter, even piratical murderers or manstealing dogs would go mad at feeling such Egyptian darkness, and would die outright.

But yet there are, certainly, great differences among men in respect to their internal consciousness of religion. In our great towns there are millionaires; also are there paupers, beggars there. What an odds between these devotees of money! So are there likewise paupers of religious consciousness, clad with but a few rags of pious experience, rudely stitched with an oath or a momentary aspiration, pasted together here and there with religious fear — a covering all too scant — and through the loops and rents of this spiritual raiment the bitter winds of life blow in upon the smarting soul. There are also great capitalists of religion, millionaires of piety and morality, whose long life industriously spent in holy feeling, holy thinking, holy work, has given them a great real and personal estate of religion, whence they have now a daily income of spiritual delight. This triumph of the soul you often find in men of no outward distinction, sometimes furnished with but little learning — the religious their only spiritual wealth. But the highest religious delight is not found in these monsters of piety, only in well-proportioned characters, when all the faculties are fully grown and trained up well. For the religious

is a mixture likewise of all other joys, and, like manna, "hath the taste of all in it."

It is not fair to expect much religious experience in the child. Reverence for the all-in-all, gratitude for his genial providence, the disposition to trust this Divine Mother, and to keep the laws of conscience, that is all we should commonly look for at an early age. The fair fruits of religion come only at a later day, not in April or May, but only in September and October. Nay, there are winter-fruits of religion, which are not fully ripe till the trees bloom again, and the grandfather of fourscore years, sees the little plants flowering under his shadow; not till then, perhaps, are the great rich winter pears of religion fully perfect in their luscious ripeness.

Yet the religious disposition is a blessed thing, even in childhood. How it inclines the little boy or girl to veneration and gratitude — virtues, which in the child are what good breeding is in the full-grown gentleman, giving a certain air of noble birth and well-bred superiority. There is a Jacob's ladder for our young pilgrim, whereon he goes up from his earthly mother, who manages the little room he sleeps in, to the dear Heavenly Mother, who never slumbers nor sleeps, who is never careful and troubled about any thing, but yet cares continually for the great housekeeping of all the world, giving likewise to her beloved even in their sleep. In the child it is only the faint twilight, the beginnings of religion which you take notice of, like the voice of the bluebird, and the Phœbe, coming early in March, but only as a prelude to that whole summer of joyous song, which, when the air is delicate, will ere long gladden and beautify the procreant nest.

Painful is it to see a child whose religious culture has been neglected; the heavenly germ attempting growth, but checked by weeds, which no motherly hand plucks up or turns away. More painful to see it forced to unnatural hot-bed growth, to be succeeded by helpless imbecility at last. Worse still to find the young soul cursed with false doctrines, which film over the eye till it cannot see the Sun of Righteousness rising with such healing in his beams, and make life a great dark day, hideous with fear and devils, and amazed with the roar of greedy hell! Such ill-entreated souls often grow idiotic in their religious sense, or else, therein stark mad and penned up in churches and other asylums, mope and gibber in their hideous bereavement, thinking "man is totally depraved," and God a great ugly devil, an almighty cat, who worries his living prey, tormenting them before their time, and will forever tear them to pieces in the never-ending agony of hell! It is terrible to hear the sermons, hymns, and prayers, which these unfortunates wail out in their religious folly or delirium. To cause one of these little ones to offend in that way, it were better that a millstone were hanged about the father or the mother's neck, and they were drowned in the depths of the sea. I say it is but the beginning of religion that we find in the tender age; twilight or sunrise, seldom more. The time of piety is not yet. Blame not the little tree; in due season it will litter the ground with purple figs.

In later years you see the flowers of religion, you taste the fruit of its gladdening consciousness of God. In early manhood there are temptations of instinctive passion, which clamors for its object, and cares but little with what its hungry maw is fed. In later man-

hood, there are temptations of ambition, a subtler and more deceitful peril. I know nothing but religion that is commonly able to defend us from either; this is strong enough for each, for both together.

Young Esau is hungry; the pottage is savory. Desire from within leagues with occasion from without. "No other eye is on me," quoth he. His pulses throb; the lightning, the earthquake, the fire of passion, pass with swift tumultuous roar along his consciousness. But the nice ear of conscience listens to the still, small voice of duty, "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth." He turns him off from her snare, charm she never so wisely, and if he fail of the pottage, he is not poisoned with the wild-gourds stirred therein; with chaste hand he keeps his birthright of integrity. "Wherewith shall a young man cleanse his ways?" asks young Esau, but from his religious soul the answer straightway comes: "By taking heed to the law of duty, clearly writ and plain to read." He drinks clean water out of his sweet spring, and thirsts no more for the tepid tanks of vice, dirty and defiling. His natural passion is directed by its natural master, and what is so often the foe of youth becomes his ally and invigorating friend.

In a later day more dangerous lusts invade the maturer man. Jonas is alone in his place of business now. It is late; all the clerks have gone home, the shutters are closed, the fire smoulders low in the grate. The gas is thriftily turned down; by the dim light I cannot see whether the counting-room opens into factory, grocery, haberdashery, warehouse, or bank. I but distinctly see the desk — symbolic furniture for all the five, with many more — and an anxious man heavy with long-continued doubt. It is the man of

business in his temptation — nay, his agony and bloody sweat. Not Jesus in the New Testament legend was more sorely tempted of another devil. "Shall I attempt this plan?" quoth he. What it is appears not — importing Coolies, or African slaves, cheating the government or the people — this only is clear, he intends some great wrong to other men. "I can do it — 'twill certainly succeed — no man shall find it out. Then wealth is mine — that is nobility in a democracy; with it comes the power, the respectability and the honor it bestows." They flit before him — a great city house wheels into line; a great country house follows, flanked with wide lawns and costly gardens — a whole world of beauty. He sees such visionary entertainments, new flocks of wealthy friends, obsequious clergymen, communing at any table where success breaks the bread and fills the cup, no matter if but shewbread and wine of iniquity. He tastes the admiration of men who worship any coin, and care not if it bear the laureled head of liberty, a northern fair-faced maid, or only a southern vulture swooping down upon its human prey. He anticipates the wealthy marriage of his modest girls. He sees posts of ambition close at hand, and all so easy for mounting up to if he be but winged with gold. "All this will I give thee, yea, and much more," says the tempter, "for they are mine, and where I will I bestow them. I, Mammon, dwell with honor; glory is mine, and respectability; my fault is better than virtue. The love of riches is the beginning of wisdom. Money crieth without, she uttereth her voice in the streets, How long, ye honest ones, will ye love simplicity? Whoso hearkeneth unto me shall dwell safely, and shall be quiet from fear of evil. Did any

ever trust in wealth and was confounded? Look about you: how did Mr. Shortweight gain his millions? Yet what honor he lived in! Colleges named him doctor of laws, and not banker. In funeral sermons ministers put him among the saints. Come thou and do likewise. Money answereth all things, and is imputed unto men for righteousness!"

"Shall I also climb that popular ladder?" asks tortured Jonas. But presently it seems as if his mother's form bent over him. It is the same sweet face which was once so often pressed to his, as she stilled his aching flesh and kissed his little griefs away. His ear tingles warm again, as if that mouth, long silent now, breathed into it her oft-repeated word, "Only the right is acceptable with God." "Get you behind me, devils all," cries he. They vanish into the cold ashes of his grate, while the fair angel that we name religion, disguised in his mother's saintly shape, comes back and ministers to him. He goes home a strong man; but dreams that night that he was shipwrecked, and in the wildest storm his mother came and trod the waters under her, and brought him safe to land. Then turns he, and dreams again that he was falling, falling, falling through the dark, never so long and far away, and that same strong-winged angel swept between him and the ground, and bore him off unhurt, repeating with its sweet motherly voice:

"Only the Right is acceptable with God!"

He wakes for honest toil and manly duty, with its dear and tranquil joys; and all day long that holy Psalm keeps quiring in his heart:

"Only the Right is acceptable with God!"

How soothing is religion in sorrow! It is her only boy: Rachel could not save him. The girls were thinned out one by one. Sickness made them only dearer. Death plucked them, flower after flower. When he shook the family bush, how sadly did those white roses cast their petals on the wind! The corner of the village grave-yard seems snowed all over with mementoes of what has been. The father, too, is gone now. In sleep her arms fold together, but only on emptiness, as love calls up the dear figure to cheat and avoid her grasp. Poor Rachel! all alone now! and dreams add their visionary woe to the live sorrows of the waking day. Now the last one lies there, straightened after death, a red rose put in his hand. It is the room he was born in. Her bridal chamber once is his funeral chamber now — the beginning of her hopes, the end of her disappointments — a porch only to so many graves. How fair he looks, the brown hair clustered round his brow. Since death, in the dead boy she sees the father's face come out more fair, just as he looked when she was eight and Robert ten, and they gathered chestnuts in the woods, he alone with her and she alone with him; he bearing the little sack their mutual hands had filled, when neither knew nor dreamed those little trodden paths would lead to marriage, and their mutual hand fill many a sack of joys and sorrows too. In the same face she sees her lover and her child — both dead now. That handsome bud will never be a flower. No maiden shall salute those cheeks with the first stealthy modest kiss of heavenly love. The real present and the ideal future meet there, and Rachel sits between, the point common to both; a wife without a husband, a mother with no child. Poor Rachel! Is there any consolation? She feels the In-

finite Father is with her, he loves her husband better than she loved him, when passion melted the twain to one; loves the child better than she loved her lost one, her only one — her boy. The Infinite Father is with her. In her early love she looked to him and was not ashamed. That day-star of piety gleamed white in the roseate flush of her maiden love; through the throbbing joy of her bridal she looked up to the Infinite One, Father of bridegroom and of bride. When one by one those little sprigs pushed out from the married boughs, Rachel remembered him who never forgets us in our heedlessness, thankful for the old life continued, the new life lent. Does she now forget the Rock whence our earthly houses be hewed out and builded up?

The neighbors look on the surface of her life — how disturbed it is, the great deep all broken up! But underneath it all, below the troubled depth of her sorrow, there is a deeper deep whereto she goes down. It is all still there, and, face to face, she communes with him who will be with us in deep waters. In the ecstasy of grief she finds that settled joy of heart which transcends all other joys. She looks into another world and sees her white rosebuds, and the last, the red, open in the light of heaven and flower out to fairer maiden and manly beauty than earth knows of in temperate or in tropic lands! while amid those dear ones the mortal father, immortal now, who went before his boy, walks like a gardener among his plants, and makes ready also a place for her! "Thy will, not mine be done; it is well with the child." She needs no other prayer. The comforter has come, that same comforter who was in the beginning and cheered the hearts of millions before the name of Jesus was ever spoke on land or sea. Poor Rachel, is it? Then who,

I ask, is rich? Henceforth she has a charmed life, her smiles fewer but serener and more heartfelt. The air is cool and delicate about her; the endemics of the ground can stir no fever in that tranquil blood. Her great sorrow has seemed a great religion, which fills her with stillness. A wife without a husband, a mother without a living child, is she alone, think you? The Infinite Father is with her, in her, and she also in him. Call not that lonely which is so densely populate with God.

How the winds blow on the surface, at the human level; with what wrathful sweep tread those posters of the sea and land! Go a few furlongs up, and you have left the whirlwind behind you; you are above the thunder, and beneath your feet the harmless lightnings flash unheard away; all the noises of Sebastopol and Waterloo roll by and leave no mark on the most delicate ear. Even the earthquake is not felt in that calm deep of the upper air! On the sea, go down not many rods,

> "The water is calm and still below,
> For the winds and waves are noiseless there,
> And the sands are bright as the stars that glow
> In the motionless field of upper air.
> And life, in rare and beautiful forms,
> Is sporting amid those bowers of stone,
> And is safe when the wrathful spirit of storms
> Has made the top of the wave his own."

How old and gray-headed Mr. Grandfather is. At Boston, in 1783, he heard the bells ring for peace, which meant also independence. His thoughtful mother, not without prayers, watched his cradle at the beginning of the storm of revolution. Now he is old, very old. He has been out on the sea of life and done

business in its great waters. Many a proud wave has gone over him. But he got through. Children and children's children are the crown of triumph for his old age. Yet he is more religious than old. He stoops a little now, and sometimes slumbers in his chair. The mists of the valley which all must tread lie spread out before him, white with the moonlight of old age. Of a pleasant day he sallies forth, staff in hand, this Œdipus, who has met the sphynx of time and solved the great riddle of life, and he wonders "where the old people are?" How young the world looks to his experienced eyes! He lifts his hat to some venerable man whom he saw christened in the meeting-house so long ago that the ink has turned brown on the yellow paper in the parish book. There is a funeral to-day of a white-haired woman, old, very old. Mr. Grandfather remembers her as a chubby little rosy-cheeked maiden, with black hair, and eyes so full of fun, just getting into her teens when he was but half-way there. Now he reads on the silver plate, "Aged XCIV." "Ninty-four?" quoth he, "a great age. Yes, I knew she was about that! A great age. Fourscore and fourteen! Six more, and it is a hundred." He remembers the green-gages she used to give him out of her father's great garden; now it is built all over with huge granite stores, four stories high, and the pear trees and plums which Mr. Blackstone brought over from England have followed their planter long since. He remembers her wedding — seventy-six years ago last July, boy of twelve that he was. On the plain table of those "good old times' he set a china bowl of white lilies, which he swam for in Hammond's Pond that morning, to honor his pretty cousin's marriage with. It was the first time they ever had such flowers

at a Puritan wedding; but the minister liked it, so did cousin Lucy, but the new cousin thought only of her who made him so happy. "Now she is clad for another change," quoth Mr. Grandfather, as he lays his last gift of blossoms on her coffin; "always a little before me, never long; born seven years first, wed twelve years before me. We shall meet again before long. This is the last of earth for you; soon it will be for me. Well, I am content. 'Shock of corn fully ripe'— let the dear Father come and take of his planting, at the great harvest home. To die is also gain."

That night Mr. Grandfather tarries late in his sitting-room, when the rest are gone to bed. He slept a little after supper in his great arm chair, and is quite wakeful now. The old clock stands there; it tells the hours of human time; nay, with delicate hand it marks even the seconds, just as life itself will always do. It reports likewise the days of the month and of the week, the shape of the moon; on the top of all is a ship at sea, rising and falling by wheel work, as if driven by the wind and tossed. Mr. Grandfather looks into his wood fire, and then all the long voyage of his past life comes pictured to him from his cradle to cousin Lucy's funeral. There are sad things to look on, which bring back a tear; he did not know it till it fell hot on his hand and made him start. There are joyous things also, which set his heart throbbing as when he was a bridegroom. Nay, there are wrong things which he did, repented of, and outgrew so long ago that they seem merely historical, like the sins of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; yet he remembers the lesson they taught. His boyish loves return — father and mother, children — nay, children's children. The wife of his heart, reverently buried years ago, comes back in bridal gar-

ments, then sits at the new cradle. Then another funeral rushes on his sight: "Lover and friend thou puttest far from me, and mine acquaintance into darkness," quoth he. "Nay, nay, not into darkness; say rather into marvellous light! My time is not far off. How long, O Lord? How soon? Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth." The old clock strikes twelve; the first day of another month comes into its place, and the new moon lifts its silver rim to tell below what heavenly life goes on above. "Soon shall I behold thy face in righteousness, and I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness."

I wonder any man can be content to live without the joyous consciousness of God; without this how any one can hear the griefs of time, I know not, nor cannot even dream. I would be certain that my little venture is insured at the provident office of the Infinite God; then shall I fear no shipwreck, but steer my personal craft as best I may, certain of a harbor; and though it be at the bottom of the sea, I am safe landed in heaven. If I have well done my part, and where or when it may, I am sure the voyage will turn out fortunate.

O young men and young women; men and women no longer young! It is not enough to be brave and thoughtful; not enough to be moral also, and friendly each to each. You have a faculty which makes another world for you, the world of God. There is a joy which is not in wisdom, with all its science and its art of beauty and of use; nor yet in morality, with its grand works of justice; nay, nor yet even in the sweet felicity of loving men and being loved in turn by them; there is a life within the veil of the temple; it is the

life with God, the innermost delight of human consciousness. Animated by that your wisdom shall be greater, more true your science, and more fair your art; your morality more firm and sure, your love to men more joyous and abiding, your whole character made useful, and beautiful exceedingly.

IV

THE DELIGHTS OF PIETY

We are all connected with the world of matter, with the world of man, and with the world of God. In each of these spheres we have duties to do, rights to enjoy, which are consequent on the duties done. Our existence first, and next our welfare, depends on doing the duties and enjoying the rights. Thereof we may do much, and enjoy much, or do little and enjoy no more. The quantity of our threefold happiness will depend on the amount of duties done, and of the rights enjoyed; but the quality of the happiness is also largely within our control; and we may derive our habitual delight from any one of these three sources — the material, the human, and the divine; or we may draw from all of these. We may content ourselves with the lowest quality of human delights, or we may reach up and get the highest and dearest quality thereof.

Religion, in its wide sense, includes a man's relation to all three — to the world of matter, the world of man, and the world of God; it regulates a man's duties and rights, and consequent enjoyments, in all these three spheres of human consciousness — for religion, in the large sense of that word, is the service of God with every limb of the body, with every faculty of the spirit, with every power we possess over matter or over man.

But there is a purely subjective and internal part of religion, which is the heart of the whole of it, and

whence its streams of life are sent forth! I mean piety. At first, piety includes directly only man's relation to the world of God, and controls and regulates the duties thereof, the rights therein, and the enjoyment therefrom. But the roots of all other human relations, of all the rest of religion, strike down into this, and are not only steadied and supported, but they are nourished thereby. So all of religion, in its concretest form, comes ultimately out of this internal element which I call piety.

By piety, I mean the normal action of the strictly religious faculty — the soul — considered as purely internal and subjective. It is our consciousness of God, our feeling of the world of God, and of all which belongs thereto.

This piety is a feeling which, at first, seems to be simple, and not capable of being analyzed and decomposed into other elements. But when you look at the matter a moment, you see it must be attended by the idea of God, and, as a condition of complete and perfect piety, that idea must be the *true* idea — of God considered as infinite power, infinite wisdom, infinite justice, infinite holiness, and infinite love — for if you think, as many do, that God is not perfect, but is an ugly devil, it is plain that your feeling towards God, and your internal experience of God, must be exactly the opposite of what it will be if you consider him as infinitely perfect in power, wisdom, justice, affection, and holiness. In the state of complete and perfect piety, the spirit of man embraces into one unity of consciousness several elements, namely, first, an idea of God, a conception of him as infinite; next, the feeling of perfect love for God, of perfect trust in him, and of tranquillity and rest with God; and, as a third thing,

the complete will to serve God by a way that corresponds to his nature, and to your nature likewise. Then, as a consequent result of these three things, there comes this — a supreme delight and rejoicing in God!

It seems to me that these things make up a complete and perfect piety, normal and total. So it includes a great thought — the idea of infinite God; a great feeling — absolute love and trust in God; and a great will — the resolution to serve him by the means which he has provided. These things are separated by reflection, and may be analytically examined; for purposes of philosophy and understanding, it is necessary to do this; but for purposes of pure piety and religion it is not necessary; but we conceive of this as one simple thing not decomposable. This composite consciousness we call piety, and define it commonly by its chief and largest element which enters thereinto, the love of God — for the feeling of God implies the idea of him as lovely, and leads unavoidably to the resolution to serve him by the means that he has provided.

Now, this piety is distinguished from three abnormal forms of action of the religious faculty.

It is distinguished, first, from superstition; that is, the action of man's religious faculty combined with the false idea of God, namely, that he is not lovely and beautiful, but fearful and ugly. Accordingly the superstitious man thinks that God must be feared first of all; and the internal worship of God is accordingly, with that man, fear, and nothing but fear. Then he thinks that outwardly God must be served by some mode of action that is deformed and ugly, and violates the native instincts of man; that he must be served by

mutilation, in old times, of the body, and in our times, of the spirit — now of the intellect, then of the conscience, then of the affections, or of the religious faculty itself. This is a very common idea of God and a very common idea of religion. God is thought to be ugly, and religion of course is ugly! Superstition is fear before God, and when I speak of piety and its delights, I do not speak of superstition and any delight connected with that.

Then, next, piety is distinguished from fanaticism. That is the action of the religious faculty attended by the idea that God is not only fearful and ugly, but that he is malignant also, and hates certain men. Accordingly, the notion follows that God is to be served by cruelty to other men, by depriving them of rights which we value ourselves and do not wish to be deprived of. Fanaticism is hate before God, as superstition is fear before him. Fanaticism is a far greater evil than superstition, but in our day it is far less common. Examples of fanaticism you find in the Spanish Catholics, who built the Inquisition, to persecute alike Catholic and Protestant, Mahometan and Jew; in the Protestants, who drove the fathers of New England and Pennsylvania from England and Holland to this the American wilderness; examples of it do you find in the Puritan fathers themselves, who persecuted Quakers and Baptists, and put them to death. Nay, Quakers themselves, though sinning less than other Christians, have yet sometimes been guilty of this offence.

This form of piety is, thirdly, distinguished from mysticism. Mysticism is the action of the religious element, attended by the idea that man is nothing, and that God designs to crush him down, not into non-re-

sistance, but into mere passivity; that the religious action is all God asks for, and that is to be purely internal. So, according to the mystic, God is to be served not with all the faculties he has given, but only with this religious faculty, acting to produce emotions of reverence, trust, love, and the rest. Mysticism is sloth before God, as superstition is fear, and fanaticism is hate before God. It exists still in some of the churches, which cultivate only emotions of reverence, of trust, of love, and the like, but never let the love of God come out of the heart in the shape of the love of man.

In superstition and fanaticism there is not a great idea, but a mean and false one; not a great sentiment of love to God, but a mean one of fear before him, and of hate towards men. But both of these do excite a great will, and accordingly superstitious men, and still more fanatical men, have always been distinguished for an immensity of will. In mysticism there may be a great idea and a great sentiment; there cannot be a great will. Complete and perfect piety unites all three,— the great thought, of the infinity of God; the great feeling, of absolute love for him; and the great will, the resolution to serve him.

I have thought it necessary at the outset to make this distinction between true piety and superstition, fanaticism and mysticism, for two reasons. First, the religious faculties in action are as liable to mistake an error as the hand or the foot, or any faculty that we possess; and we should therefore guard against mistakes which have already been made, and into which ourselves are liable to fall. Then, secondly, I make this distinction and dwell upon it because each of these

three things is often set up as piety itself, and a man is told he can have no real piety in one church without superstition; in another, without fanaticism; and in a third, without mysticism.

Now real piety is the safeguard of all other forms of happiness; it is the greatest of human joys. Our delight in the world of God far transcends all our delight in the world of matter or in the world of man. If I am sure of God, sure of his infinite power, wisdom, justice, love, and holiness, then I am sure of everything else. I know that he has planned all things wisely, and will finally bring out all things well. Then I have a foundation on which I can build other things, and build securely. Then the universe — the world of matter and the world of man — looks permanent; I can rely on it. But without this certainty of God, I am not sure of anything; uncertainty hedges me in on every side. Now I doubt, then I fear, next I despair; for if all things depend on chance, as the atheist says — the blind action of blind forces — then there is no security that anything is planned wisely or will turn out well; and if they depend on an imperfect God, changeable, wilful, capricious, as the popular theology teaches, then there is the same lack of certainty, and I am not sure that God planned wisely or provides well. If they depend on an ugly and malignant God, as so many persons still teach, and some believe,— why, there is no hope; that is fear — yes, despair! In my nature there is a great demand for happiness, for immortality, for heaven. Logically, according to the light of nature, that demand, which comes of my constitution, implies the promise to pay; but if I am not sure of God, then I have only the promise to pay in

my nature, but there is no endorser on the note; there is no security lodged as collateral for payment, and I cannot trust the promisor. This misfortune is a very deep one, and it is felt also in all the popular churches that are about us.

Thus my consciousness of God colours all the other facts of consciousness; my world of matter and my world of man take their complexion from my world of God. This is not theory alone, it is plain fact; you see examples of it everywhere. My consciousness of God comes into every relation that I have in life — to my business, to my pleasure, to my affection. Go into rigid Calvinistic churches; look at the faces of men, listen to their prayers, read their hymns, see what passages are selected from the Bible; then go with these men to their homes, and see how their children are brought up in fear, in trembling, and with dread of God,— counting religion as something unnatural,— and see how a mistake in the idea of God comes out and colors all the man's life. Then, to go to the opposite extreme, take the atheistic party which has risen up in our times, read their books, and see them declare that the idea of immortality is the greatest curse left for mankind,— not the common idea, but any idea of immortality,— hear them proclaim that the great function of the philosopher is to re-establish the flesh in its domineering over the spirit of man, and you see how their absence of the idea of God colors their consciousness and penetrates into every relation.

But if I know the infinite God, then I know that he is perfect cause and perfect providence, and that he makes and administers the world of matter from perfect motives, of perfect material, for a perfect purpose, and as a perfect means thereto, and that the

perfect motive is love, the desire to bless everything that he makes; then I am sure that the end is foreseen and provided for, that all the action of the universe, whether right or wrong, of the great universe as a whole, and of you and me, the little atoms which compose it, of each nation, community, family, and individual — I am sure that all this has been foreseen and provided for and so administered by the Infinite God that there shall be no absolute evil befalling the greatest genius or the humblest idiot; that no mote which peoples the sun's beams, that no mortal man, whether he be Judas the betrayer or Jesus the crucified, shall fail of never-ending bliss at last. Discipline there is, and must be, but only as means to the noblest and most joyous end. This I say I am sure of, for it follows logically from the very idea of the infinite perfect God. Nay, the religious instinct anticipates induction, and declares this with the spontaneous womanly logic of human nature itself.

Now to any man who thinks, this is a matter of the very utmost importance; to one who does not think, it is of no consequence at all. But if a man thinks, earnest and deep, this conclusion is the most vital. When I am satisfied on this point, then I can enjoy the world of matter and the world of man, and I can apply the human means which are in my power to the human end which I wish to bring to pass. I have then no doubt of the final result, no fear of that; I am concerned about to-day and to-morrow, about my doing my duty and my brother doing his; I am not at all concerned about eternity, and about God doing God's duty.

I confess I wonder that every man who lives does not have this confidence and enjoy it; it seems so natural, and is so instinctive also, and it squares so com-

pletely with the very highest science which man attains to; and then as you think about it, why, the infinite perfection of God springs into your eye at once,— so that I wonder that any man who thinks at all does not come to this conclusion, that God is infinitely perfect, perfect cause and perfect providence, and made all and superintends all from a perfect motive, for a perfect purpose, and as a perfect means, and will ultimately bless everything that he has created. And yet, natural as this is, instinctively as we get at it, philosophical as it certainly is, there is no sect of Christians or un-Christians which has laid this down as its great corner-stone. There is not, as I have said before, a single sect of men in this whole globe of land which declares consistently the infinite perfection of God; even the Unitarians, in their "creed" recently promulgated, though they say they believe the absolute perfection of God, yet do not understand what it means, and do not venture to say that no man shall be everlastingly damned; they wish it may be so, they dare not think it surely is so. That of course implies that they wish what God is not good enough to wish; and of course implies that they are better in their wishes than God in his wishes, and accordingly, that they are nearer to infinite perfection than God himself. And yet the Unitarians have less of this than any other sect in Christendom. You go into any other church,— I will except in a large measure the Universalist church, — and you are frightened with the ghastly image of God which is gibbeted before you in horror.

But, in addition to this sense of permanent security, the piety I speak of furnishes the highest, the deepest, and the most intimate delight which mortal man knows

or can know here on the earth. I am very far from denying the value of other forms of delight, even of those which come wholly from the world of matter. Every sense has its function, and that function is attended with pleasure, with joy. All these natural and normal delights ought to be enjoyed by every man; it is a sullenness toward God not to rejoice and thus appreciate his beautiful world when we can. St. Bernard walked all day, six or seven hundred years ago, by the shores of the Lake of Geneva, with one of the most glorious prospects in the whole world before him — mountain, lake, river, clouds, gardens, everything to bless the eye — and that monk never saw a thing all day long. He was thinking about the Trinity, and when he reached home some one spoke to him of the beauty he must have seen; and the austere, sour-hearted monk said he had seen nothing. He thought it was a merit, and his chroniclers record it in his praise. It always seemed to me rather impious in the stout-hearted man, a proud fling at God, which Voltaire would have been ashamed of. Mr. Beecher, with more wholesome piety, says in his poetic way, "The sweet-brier is country cousin to the rose." There is a touch of religious recognition in all his love of nature, which to me seems more truly pious than the proud flights and profound thoughts in the seven hundred and forty-four letters of St. Bernard, and all his sharp and acute, and rather glorious sermons too. To me it always seemed irreverent in that great man that he boasted that he only eat his dinner, but never tasted it, as if his mouth were a mill and no more; it was certainly a fling at the good God, though the saint meant it otherwise. That great soul which made an ox's crib at Bethlehem holy ground, and the central point of many a pilgrimage, never

flouted at God's world in that sort. He saw a lesson in the flight of the raven; in the savorless salt there was a sermon; there is a beatitude in the dry grass of the baking-kettle of a poor woman in the company going up to Jerusalem to hear him preach; and the great eyes which saw God so clearly dwelt with pleasure on the lilies of the valley, and said, " Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not."

God made the world of matter exceeding beautiful, and meant it should be rejoiced in by these senses of ours: at these five doors what a world of loveliness comes in and brushes against the sides with its garment, and leaves the sign of God's presence on our doorposts and lintels. Think you God made the world so fair, every flower a sister to a star, and did not mean men's eyes to see, and men's hearts to take a sacrament thereat? Our daily bread is a delight which begins in babyhood, and only ends when the Infinite Mother folds us to her arms and gives us the bread which does not perish in the using. The humblest senses have their pleasure. The fly feeding on a berry crushed by accident on a bush, lets one a good way into the mystery of God's providence. The sights in nature, the sounds thereof,— they are all means of delight. I am sometimes astonished to see how full of happiness a single day may be made, and that at the very cheapest rate, by the sights which come to the eye, and the sounds to the ear, at no cost but opening and listening. These are sacraments by which man communes with God. It is surely churlish to turn away from the table which he spreads before every man. It is a painful sight and a sad thought to remember how many men there are in this Christian land of ours, and still more in others, who are debarred from this pleas-

ure. We think it a sad thing, and it surely is, that every man should not have a Bible in his house, and power to read it; and great-hearted Christians make large sacrifices to put the words of Esaias, and Amos, and Paul, and Jesus into the hands of every man. But should we not also be ashamed that the greater, diviner Scriptures of God are not in every Christian's understanding, before his eye, and in his consciousness! That also is a reproach.

Then come those higher delights from the use of the senses and the mind better cultivated; from the beauty of nature and art, and common life. I cannot now dwell at length on our delight in the world of men, only recall to your memory what every man experiences,— the joy of affection, of love in all its forms, connubial, parental, filial, related, friendly, and all that. It seems to me that ascetic preachers often undervalue this. And I remember to have heard a man of a good deal of power too, declare that a man's love for his garden, his house, his ox, his horse, his wife, and his children, was all nonsense and absurdity; nay, "a sin" in the eyes of God, and just as he loved these things the more, he loved God the less; and if he loved him supremely, he would care for nothing but God! I do not value at a low rate the happiness which comes from the union of the world of matter with the world of man, from our industry, its process and its results. I wish every earnest man knew what satisfaction there is in putting your human nature upon material nature, and making it take your image — now a form of use, then a form of beauty. I do not think we make account enough of this, or set sufficient store by this source of delight. To put human nature upon material nature, in the

shape of a grand statue or a grand picture — everybody thinks that is a great delight; but so it is to put human nature upon material nature in the form of a shoe, or a shirt, or a carriage, or a house, or a stocking, or a loaf of bread, or a nail, a farm, a garden, or a steam engine, or anything you will; there is the same triumph of mind over matter in the one case as in the other, and when we get a little wiser we shall see what a real joy is in this, and at one end of society there will be no idleness and shirking, and at the other no drudgery and being crushed by excess of toil. God made man to live with matter, and made them both so that there should be good neighbourhood between the two, and man should get delight from the contact. God made men so that they might live with each other, and get deeper, dearer, and truer delight from that intimacy. Do not think, I say, that I undervalue either of these forms of well-being. Let a man have all that he can get of both, and communicate in both kinds through this sacrament, with thankfulness of heart. But I must say that I think the delight which comes from the world of God, the joys of piety as a normal consciousness and experience of God, a great way surpass all these other delights I have just named. Yes, compared with the others, this is what womanhood is compared with girlhood or babyhood. I say this from my own experience; but it is not my experience alone,— every deep-hearted saint who rejoiced in the world of matter and the world of man, and then took fast hold on the world of God, tells us the same thing. What brave words have come to us from Jesus of Nazareth, from Paul of Tarsus, from Thomas à Kempis, and William Law, and Isaac Watts, and that great stout-hearted man whose foot was so deep in the world of

matter, whose hands went so largely into the world of men, and whose soul took hold so strongly on the world of God — Martin Luther: what brave words these have left us of their experience in the world of God. Nay, how full of the deepest and richest experience of this kind were the lives of the saints of the Quaker church! What joy had Fox, and Nayler, and Penn, and Woolman, and Scott, and all those pious souls — women and men, who learned to lie low in the hand of God, and rejoice in their consciousness of him and the visitations of the eternal love!

What exquisite delights they are which make up our experience and enjoyment of God! The aspect of beauty in every form is always a joy — in the shape and color of a blade of grass, a nut, a fly's wing, a pearl found in a mussel of a New Hampshire brook. What higher delight is there in the beauty of the human form! Beauty is made up of these four things — completeness as a whole, perfection of the parts, fitness of each part for its function, and correspondence with the faculties of man. These four things make up the statics and dynamics of beauty. Now, looked at with the intellectual and esthetic part of human consciousness, God is absolute beauty. He is the beauty of being, self-existence; the beauty of power, almightiness; of intellect, all-knowingness; of conscience, all-righteousness; of affection, all-lovingness; of the soul, all-holiness; in a word, he is the absolute, the altogether beautiful. As men take delight in mere sensuous loveliness of beautiful things, a rose, a lily, a dewdrop, a sunset, a statue or a star, or man's or woman's handsome face, all heedless of their use; so a contemplative man may take rapturous joy in the absolute beauty of God — infinitely attractive to every spiritual faculty of

man — having that fourfold loveliness, completeness as a whole, perfection of parts, fitness of function, and adaptation to our human nature.

But this beauty of God is a source of delight to few men; it cannot be relished without a great development of the religious faculty, and also a profound culture of the intellectual and esthetic faculties; and besides, is somewhat too abstruse and transcendental in its nature for the busy world of men, who want something they can grasp with a thicker and hotter hand. I mention it, and dwell upon it, because it lies so much out of the way of common preaching, and because also it is real and lies within the reach of every man who can cultivate his understanding and his religious faculty. But I pass briefly over this, because to many men it seems as moonshine when compared with the clear daylight of other forms of religious joy.

Then there is this feeling of security and trust in God. I feel God not as a King, power alone, but as a Father; yea, as a Mother, and I know that God loves me with tenderest affection, that he loves every human soul with all of his infinite power, wisdom, justice, love, and holiness. Now it is a delight to be beloved by any one; the affection which a cat, or dog, or horse, or ox feels for a man is a delight to that man; to know that some human being holds you in esteem, in affection, watches for you and watches over you, and takes delight in your well-being — why, what a joy that is! Everybody knows it. I speak not now of the active affection which loves back again, but of the passivity of spirit which only joys in being loved by other men. Yet in receiving such love from mortal man there is often this hindrance — the man often wishes it to be exclusive to him alone; for he thinks his friend has so

little affection that he wants it all, and would break other men's pitchers which are let down to the finite, private well of his friend's affection; so there is a strife between the herdsmen of Abraham and of Lot, a quarrel which troubles the well, and breaks the pitchers, and muddies the water itself. But as the affection of the Infinite God is boundless, not to be exhausted, as from the very nature of God he must have infinite love, so no man need be jealous of him and fearful we shall not get our share, because publicans and sinners enter into the joy of their Lord. When the elder brother comes near the house of the Infinite God, he hears the music and dancing, and is not wroth, but falls on his brother's neck and kisses him, and finds himself in the finding of the lost, and lives anew in the living of the dead.

I know the delight of being loved, for I have sunned myself in the affection of father and mother, and brother and sister, and wife and relative; and if anybody knows the beauty and blessedness of friendship, I think that I do, for I have sounded its depths and tasted its joy. But the love that I have received from mortal men, from father and mother, wife, and relative, and friend — it is but little, nay, it is nothing, compared to the still and calm delight which I feel from consciousness of being loved by the Infinite God. My mortal friends love me, perhaps, through their weakness; they are not good enough to love a better man; God loves me for his strength, for his infinity. They are exclusive, perhaps loving others the less from loving me the more; but God includes all, the heathen, the Hebrew, the Mahometan, the atheist, and the Christian; nay, Cain, Iscariot, the kidnapper, are all folded in the arms of the Infinite Mother, who will not suffer absolute evil to come to the least or the worst of these,

but so tempers the mechanism of humanity that all shall come to the table of blessedness at last! Death itself is no limit. God's love is eternal also, providing retribution for all I do; but pain is medicine. What is not delight is discipline, the avenue to nobler joy.

Feeling a consciousness of this divine love for me, knowing that it is joined with infinite power, wisdom, justice, and holiness, that it is perfect cause to plan and perfect providence to administer — why, all the sorrows and sufferings of life, how easily they are borne! I writhe in mortal agony, but my Father's arms are round me — the agony is still. I am not recognized by the world, my little merit is not acknowledged, not appreciated, it is so small; but God recognizes and appreciates it, and smiles down on the little good I do, and it is not lost. Nobody feels for me or with me; but the great God sympathizes with me. I have his infinite power and his infinite love heeding me every moment. I am tormented by the loss of friends — father, mother, wife, child; my dearest of the nearest are gone; but the Infinite Mother folds me to her bosom, and her tenderness wipes the tears from my eyes; I fall asleep in the Infinite arms, remembering that no harm has happened to those who are taken, and there is a place in store for the one that is left. I know that no evils are absolute and lasting; nay, before the creation of the world, all the errors, the mistakes, and the sins which you, or I, or the human race, would commit, were foreseen by the Infinite Father, were provided for long before they came to pass, and shall, all of them, be rounded off at last into a whole of infinite bliss, infinite love towards each child that he has created, towards Cain, towards Iscariot, the kidnapper, and the victims of a world of cruelty and wrong.

I can look on the world's suffering and sorrow, on the wars and slavery, the poverty, drunkenness, and crime, the dreadful want which pines in cities, the vice we pile up in jails to perish in malignant rot, the more vicious vice which builds those jails; I can look on all the sad heart-break of mankind, and I know it will be all overruled by the Creator in his machinery of the world so that infinite good shall come at last. Of all the world's suffering and transgression, none came by superhuman chance, and so is a world accident; none by superhuman malignity, and is a world curse. The history of man is the calculated consequence of the faculties God put in man, known beforehand to the infinite cause, provided by the infinite providence, and made to serve his purpose of eternal love.

Then there comes the rising up of all my spirit in one great act of gratitude, reverence, and trust, one great feeling of love to God, and this fills me with unbounded delight. Passive to receive God's love, I am active to return it with love again. I just now spoke of the delight of being loved by mortal men! and then of the intimate joy of conscious love received from God! But as our highest joy is of action, and not merely of receiving, as it is more blessed to give affection than to receive even that, so the joy which a man feels from his conscious love of the Infinite God far surpasses even the delight which he has from being loved by the Father.

My affection for my earthly friends is checked by the limitations of their character: thus far and no farther is the rule,

> "For the fondest, the fairest, the truest that met,
> Man still found the need to forgive and forget."

But as God is infinitely perfect, absolutely lovable, so there is no limit without to my power of loving him, and my affection grows with the love of God which it feeds upon, and becomes greater, wider, deeper, nicer in its refinement, and brings a greater and greater accession of delight.

Then I have in God the sense of security, of permanent welfare which it brings; this imparts a steadiness to the action of all the faculties; it gives energy, vigor, quickness to the intellect, strengthens the will, sharpens the conscience, widens the heart, blesses with its own beatitude every faculty that I possess. My delight in God increases each special joy in the things of matter or in the persons of men; I love the world the more, because I know it is God's world, even as a dry leaf given by a lover is dearer than all pearls from whoso loves us not! I love my proper business better, by fire-side and street-side, in market and in shop, because I know that it is the way of serving God, bringing about his divine end by my human means. I love my brothers and sisters, my father and mother, wife and child, far more, because my heart is filled with reverence and love to God.

In the sunshine of life, every human joy is made more joyous by this delight in God. When these fail, when health is gone, when my eye is dim, when my estate slips through my hands, and my good name becomes a dishonor, when death takes the nearest and dearest of my friends, then my consciousness of God comes out, a great light in my darkness, and a very present help in my time of trouble. In wet weather in the spring, every hill abounds with water, the brooks run over in their affluence, and all the hill-sides and plains are green; but, when week after week there is

no dew nor rain, and month after month the heavens impart no germinative moisture to the ground, the little streams dry up, the surface springs are choked with heat and dust, then we go to the well that is bored into the primeval rock, embosomed in the mountain, and drink cool sweet water that never fails.

This delight is for you and me, and every one of us; and when we have this pure abstract enjoyment, which comes of piety in our soul, then the love of God will run over into morality, into love of men in every form! and, in addition to these dear delights of piety, we shall have the joys of philanthropy, of justice, of wisdom, and of all human consciousness in its thousand forms!

V

BEAUTY IN THE WORLD OF MATTER

All things are double, and he hath made nothing imperfect. — Ecclesiasticus xlii, 24.

Late at night of a Saturday the milliner's girl shuts up the close-pent shop, and, through such darkness as the city allows, walks to her home in the narrow street. All day long, and all the week, she has been busy with bonnets and caps, crowns and fronts, capes and lace and ribbons; with gauze, muslin, tape, wire, bows, and artificial flowers; with fits and misfits, bearings and unbearings, fixings and unfixings, tryings on and takings off; with looking in the glass at "nods, becks, and wreathed smiles,"— till now the poor girl's head swims with the heat of the day and the bad air of the shop, and her heart aches with weary loneliness. Now, thankful for the coming Sunday, she sits down in her little back chamber, opens the blinds, and looks out at the western sky, taking a long breath. Over her head what a spectacle! In the western horizon there yet linger some streaks of day; a pale red hue, toned up with a little saffron-colored light, lies over Brighton and Cambridge and Watertown,— a reflection it seems from the great sea of day which tosses there far below the horizon, where the people are yet at their work; for with them it is still the hot, bustling Saturday afternoon, and the welcome night has not yet reached them, putting her children to bed with her cradle hymn,—

"Hush, my child, lie still and slumber;
Holy angels guard thy bed;
Heavenly blessings without number
Hover o'er thy infant head!"

One lamp of heavenly light pours its divine beauty into the room. What a handsome thing it is, that evening star! No wonder men used to worship it as a goddess, at once queen of beauty and of love, thinking while unkindly ice tipped the sphere and bounded the Arctic and Antarctic realm, that she ruled into one those two temperate zones of an ideal world, and even the tropic belt between the two. Well, God forgive the poor heathens! they might have worshipped something meaner than that "bright particular star," full of such significance; many a Christian has gone further, and done worse, whom may God also pity and bless! If Kathie's eyes were bright enough, she could see that this interior star has now the shape of the new moon, and is getting fuller every night. But what a blessed influence both of beauty and of love it pours into that little hired chamber! Then all about the heavens there is such wealth of stars of all sizes, all colors,— steel-gray, sapphire, emerald, ruby, white, yellow,— each one "a beauty and a mystery!"

"Twinkle, twinkle, little star" (quoth she),
"How I wonder what you are,
Up above the world so high,
Like a diamond in the sky!"

What a sight it is! yet God charges nothing for the spectacle; the eye is the only ticket of admission; commonly it is also a season-ticket given for a lifetime, only now and then it is lost, and the darkened soul looks out no more, but only listens for those other stars,

which also rise and set in the audible deep, for the ear likewise has its celestial hemisphere and kingdom of heaven. But those stars the poor maiden looks at belong to nobody; the heavens are God's guest-chamber, he lets in all that will.

Our maiden knows a few of the chief lights — great hot Sirius, the three in Orion's belt, the north star, the pointers, and some of those others "which outwatch the bear," and never set.

Well, poor tired girl, here is one thing to be had without money. God's costliest stars to you come cheap as wishing! All night long this beauty broods over the sleeping town,— a hanging garden, not Babylonian, but heavenly, whereof the roses are eternal, and thornless also. How large and beautiful they seem as you stand in dismal lanes and your eyes do not fail of looking upwards, full of womanly reproach as you look at them from amid the riot and uproar and debauchery of wicked men. Yet they cost nothing — everybody's stars. The dew of their influence comes upon her, noiseless and soft and imperceptible, and lulls her wearied limbs.

> "Oh sleep! it is a blessed thing
> Beloved from pole to pole!
> To Mother God the praise be given!
> She sent the blessed sleep from heaven
> Which slid into her soul."

At one touch of this wonder-working hand the maiden's brain triumphs over her mere muscles, her mind over the tired flesh; the material sky is transfigured into the spiritual heaven, and the bud of beauty opens into the flower of love. Now she walks, dreamy, in the kingdom of God. What a world of tropic luxuriance springs up around her! — fairer than artists paint,

her young "Imagination bodies forth the forms of things unseen," nor needs a poet's pen to give those "airy nothings a local habitation and a name." No garden of Eden did poet ever describe so fair, for God "giveth to his beloved even in their sleep" more than most wakeful artists can reconstruct when "the meddling intellect misshapes the forms of things." What a kingdom of heaven she walks in; the poor tired maiden from the shop now become the new Eve in this paradise of dreams! But forms of earth still tenant there. It is still the daily life, but now all glorified: sleep and love are the Moses and Elias who work this real and not miraculous transfiguration. The little close-pent shop is a cathedral now, vaster than St. Peter's, richer too than all Genoese marbles in its vari-colored decoration: the furniture and merchandise are transubstantiated to arches, columns, statues, pictures. Ribbons stretch into fair galleries from pillar to pillar, lighter and more graceful than Cologne or Strasburg can boast in their architectural romance, writ in poetic stone, and the poor tape of the shop is now a stairway climbing round a column of the transept and winding into the dome far out of sight, till the mind, outrunning that other disciple the eye, takes wings to follow its aërial romp, which ends only in the light of day streaming in at the top and coloring the walls, storied all over with the pictured glory of heavenly scenes. The counter has become the choir and chancel; the desk is the great high altar. The roar of the street — where market-wagons, drays, omnibuses, coaches, carts, gigs, mix in one continuous uproar from morn till eve — is now subdued into music sweeter and sublimer too than the pope ever heard in his Sistine chapel, nay, though he were composed for by

Beethoven and Mozart, and sung to and aided by all the great masters of heroic song, from old Timotheus, who "raised a mortal to the skies," to St. Cecilia, who "drew an angel down." What manly and womanly voices sing forth the psalm of everlasting life, while the spheral melody of heaven is the organ-chant which they all follow! A visionary lover comes forth,— his form a manly fact, seen daily from the window of her shop, his love a maidenly dream of many a natural and waking hour. He comes from the high altar; it is the desire of all nations, the savior himself, the second Adam, the king of glory. He leads her through this church of love, built of sleep and beauty, takes her within the vail to the holy of holies, where dwells the Eternal; therein, that which is in part is done away, and the mortal maid and immortal lover are made one for ever and ever.

Sleep on, O maiden! and take thy rest till the morning star usurp the evening's place; nay, till the sexton toll his bell for Sunday prayers! I will not wake thee forth from such a dream, but thank the dear God who watches over those who rise early and sit up late, who giveth to his beloved even in their sleep!

Late on the same Saturday night, Jeremiah Welltodo, senior partner of the firm of Welltodo & Co., a wealthy grocer, now waxing a little old, shuts up his ledger and puts it in the great iron safe of his counting-room. He is tired with the week's work, yet it is not quite done. The rest of the servants of the shop have long since retired to their several homes. He closes the street door — the shutters were let down long ago — and walks toward home. The street is mainly still, save the rumble of a belated omnibus creeping

along, and a tired hackman takes off his last fare; for it is late Saturday night, nay, it is almost Sunday morning now,— the two twilights come near each other at this season,— and the red which the young milliner saw has faded out before the deep, dark blue of midnight; the clouds which held up the handsome colors for her to look at, have fallen now and are dropped on meadows newly mown. How they will jewel the grass there to-morrow morning!

Mr. Welltodo's work is not quite done, business pursues him still. "Sugars are rising," quoth he, "and my stock is getting light. Flour is falling, the new harvest is coming in pretty heavy, opens rich. What a great flour country the West is. Well, I'll think of that to-morrow. Dr. Banbaby won't interrupt me much, except with the hymns. I do like music. How it touches the heart! That will do for devotion. I wish the Dr. didn't make such theological prayers, fit only for the assembly of divines at Westminster who are dead and gone, thank God! I wish some of their works had followed them long ago. Well, in sermon time I can think of the flour and the sugar. Good night, Mr. Business, no more talk with you till to-morrow at eleven o'clock."

"What a lucky dog Jacob is, that partner of mine! — smart fellow too! went up to Charlemont at four o'clock, on the Fitchburg railroad,— bad stock that,— to see his mother; that won't be the first one he stops to see; somebody else waiting for him — not quite so old. Mother not first this time. Well, I suppose it is all right, I used to do just so. Did not forget poor dear old mother; only thought of somebody else then, just at that time thought of dear little Jeannie, so I did, couldn't help it. Mother said nothing about it, she

knew, always will be so, always was; one generation goeth away, and another generation cometh, but love remaineth for ever. Well, sugar's rising, flour getting low — think of that to-morrow. How my business chases me!"

But the wind from the country hills comes into town, its arms full of the scents of many a clover-field, where the haymaker with his scythe has just swept up those crumbs which fall from God's table, and stored them as oxen's bread for next winter; but the wind gleans after him, and in advance brings to town the breath of the new-mown hay. It fans his hot temples, shaking his hair, now getting gray a little prematurely, and to his experienced memory it tells all the story of summer, and how the farmer is getting on. "What a strange thing the wind is," said he, "seventy-five per cent. nitrogen, twenty-four per cent. oxygen, and one per cent. aqueous vapor flavored with carbonic acid! What a strange horse to run so swift, long-backed it is too, carrying so many sounds and odors! What a handsome thing the wind is — to the mind I mean. Look there, how it tosses the boughs of this elm tree, and makes the gas light flicker as it passes by! See there, how gracefully these long, pendulous limbs sway to and fro in the night! How it patters in the leaves of that great elm tree up at the old place!"

He lifts his hat, half to enjoy the coolness, half also in reverence for the dear God whose wind it is which brings the country in to him, and he fares homeward. All the children are a-bed, and as Jane Welltodo, thriftiest of kind mothers, has taken the "last stitch in time," on the last garment of little Chubby Cheeks, whose blue eyes were all covered up with handsome sleep when she looked at him two hours ago, the good woman

lifts her spectacles, and wonders why father does not come home. "Business! business! it makes me half a widow; it will kill the good man. His hair is gray now, at fifty-five; it is not age, only business. 'Care to our coffin adds a nail, no doubt.' Killing himself with business! But he's a good soul, sends home all the young folks; lets Mr. Haskell go off courting, 'to see his mother,' I think he calls it."

Just then the pass-key rattled in the door, the bolt was shot into its place, and Mr. Welltodo ran into his parlor. "To-morrow," cries he, "let us go out to the old place. You and I will ride in the chaise, and take Bobbie. Edward can go in the carryall, and take Matilda Jane and the rest of the family. He will like to deliver his piece to the trees before he speaks it on commencement day. College wears on Edward, studies too hard. Let him run out to grass a little up at Gove's Corner, 'twill do him good. I want a little smell of the country, so you do. How red your eyes are! 'Twill do us all good."

So they agree, and both think of the mothers that bore them, and of their own early days in the little country town, poor days, and yet how rich. They remember the little school-house and the mill, the meeting-house and the singing school they went to once, when music was not the most important business they attended to. Going separate, and coming home together; first two, next one, and finally many, in this wonderful human arithmetic!

The next morning before the first bell rung, they were at the old place where his father lived once, and his brother now; her father lives yet the other side of the hill, near the meeting-house. They will go there in the afternoon.

What green beauty there is all around! How handsome is the white clover which the city horse greedily fills his mouth withal, as Mr. Welltodo and brother 'Zekiel lead the good-natured creature to the barn! The grocer follows the example, and has a head of clover in his mouth also,— sweeter than the cloves he put there yesterday. How delicate the leaf is, how nicely framed together! No city jeweller unites metals with such nice economy of material, or fits them with such accuracy of joint. What well-finished tracery on the leaf! Nay, the honey-bee who has been feeding thereon flies off in a graceful curve, and on wings of what beauty! How handsome the old elm tree is; how lovely the outline of its great round top! "That tree would weigh forty tons," says Mr. Welltodo, "89,600 pounds; yet it seems to weigh nothing at all. There! that robin flies right through it as if it were but a green cloud. How attractive the color, such a repose for the eye! Dear little bits o'babie is never cradled so soft as my eye reposes on that mass of green. But how pleasantly the color of the ash-gray bark contrasts with the grass beneath, the boughs above! Look there, how handsomely the great branches part off from the trunk, and then divide into smaller limbs, then into boughs, into twigs and spray! How the pendulous limbs hang down, and swing in the wind, trailing clouds of greenness close to the ground! Look at the leaves, how well made they are! There is cabinet work for you! What joining! How well the colors match! See where the fire-hangbird has built a nest in one of those pendulous twigs,— just as it used to be fifty years ago! Dr. Smith's squirrels will never reach that! What a pretty piece of civil or military engineering it was to put such a dainty nest in such a

well-fortified place! How curiously it is made too! Such a nice covering! But here is the father; the mother is in the nest, brooding the little ones — rather late though. Did not marry early, I suppose; could not get ready!

> "To choose securely choose in May,
> The leaves in autumn fall away."

This is good counsel to bird or man, I suppose. That is right, old fellow! go and carry your wife her breakfast,— or dinner, I suppose it is. But what a blaze of beauty he is, newly kindled there in the boughs! a piece of a rainbow, or a bit of the morning, which got entangled in the tree and torn off. How he sings! — Grisi does not touch that; no, nor Swedish Jenny Lind, with all the Bobolinks of New England in her Swedish throat, as I used to think. Not up to that, not she! Then, too, the very caterpillar he has just caught and now let fall at my feet,— what a handsome thing that is! What eyes, what stripes of black on his sides, and spots of crimson on his back, what horns tipped with fire on his head! What a rich God it must be who can afford to dress a worm in such magnificence,— a Joseph's coat for a caterpillar! But next summer he will have a yet fairer coat, as he comes out of his minority with his new freedom suit on, and will flutter by all the flowers, himself an animate flower with wings. Butterflies are only masculine flowers, which have fallen in love, and so fly wooing to their quiet feminine mates. Let him go! I am glad the Oriole did not dine on such a meal as that. What a glutton, to eat up a Solomon's Song of loveliness! which was not only a canticle but a prophecy likewise — of messianic beauty for next year.

"There is a hornets' nest,— a young hornets' nest. I used to be afraid of hornets; now I will let you alone, Mr. Stingabee! Look there! city joiners and masons don't build so well in Boston as this country carpenter, who is hod-carrier, architect, and mason, and puts up his summer-house of *papier-maché* under the great limb of the elm. There is a piece of conscientious work! done by the job too,— so he works Sundays,— but done faithfully. What an overseer the good God is! But no, Mr. Hornet, your little striped head didn't plan that house; not an artist, only a tool in another hand!"

In the mill-pond close at hand he sees the water lilies are all out. How handsomely they lie there, withdrawing the green coverlets lined with white, and turned up with pink, wherein they wrapped themselves up yesterday at noon! What a power of white and saffron color within their cups! How they breathe their breath into his face, as if he and they were little children! and are they not of the same Father, who cradles the lily and the man with equal love? The arrowhead and the pickerel-weed blossom there, and tall flags grow out of the soft ground, with cardinals redder than Roman Lambruschini. The buttonball is in its glory, swarmed about with little insects, promoting the marriage of the flowers. The swamp honeysuckle has put on its white raiment also, as if to welcome the world, and stands there a candidate for all honors. How handsome is this vegetable tribe who live about the pond! Nay, under his feet is the little pale-blue forget-me-not. Once he used of a Sunday to fold it up in a letter signed *I know you never will*, and send it to the dear little maiden, now mother of his tall boys and comely girls. She liked the letter all the more because it contained the handwriting of her lover and her God,

— a two in one without mystery. She has the letter now, laid away somewhere, and her granddaughter years hence will come upon it and understand nothing. Like Eliot's Indian Bible, nobody can read it now. No; there must be a resurrection of the spirit to read what the spirit wrote,— in Bible leaves, in flower leaves. There is the cymbidium he used to send on the same errand, saying, "God meant it for my Arethusa."

Hard by is the kitchen garden; the pumpkin vine, disdaining narrow limits, has climbed over the wall, and puts forth its great yellow flowers. In one of them is a huge bee tumbling about; he does not know it is Sunday, does not hear the bell now tolling its last jow for meeting; does not care what the selectmen are talking of outside the meeting-house, while within the old ladies are fanning themselves, or eating green caraway seeds, or opening their smelling-bottles, in the great square pews, where on high seats are perched the little uncomfortable children, whose legs do not touch the floor; he cares nothing for all that, nor whether the minister finds a whole new Bible or an old half Bible; he is buzzing and humming and fussing about in the blossom, powdered all over with the flower dust; now he flies off to another, marrying the diœcious blossoms, the thoughtless priest of nature that he is, who does manifold work while seeking honey for his subterranean hive. Our grocer knows him well. "What a well-built creature that is," quoth he; "how well-burnished is his coat of mail, how nicely it fits, how delicate are those strong wings of his! Sebastopol is not so well armed for offence and defence. What an apparatus for suction! the steam fire-engine rusting out in the city stables is not so well contrived for that, though it did cost the city ten thousand dollars and that famous visit

to Cincinnati. But why all this wealth of beauty? Is not use enough, or is God so rich that he can dress up an humble bee in such fine clothes? so benevolent that he will not be content with doing less? "

On the other side, the pasture comes close down to the pond: some of the cows stand there in the water, protecting their limbs from the flies; others lie ruminant in the shadow of an oak tree. Wild roses come close down to the lilies, and these distant relatives, but near neighbors and good friends, meet in the water, the one looking down and reflected, where the other lies low and looks up. Spiræas and sweetbriers are about the wall, where also the raspberries are now getting ripe; andromedas shake their little white bells, all musical with loveliness; the elder-bush is also in blossom, its white flowers grateful to the eye, as to the manifold insects living and loving in its hospitable breast. How clean is the trunk of the basswood; how large and handsome its leaves; how full it is of flowers! to which the bees,

> " with musical delight,
> For their sweet gold repair."

A little further off the chestnut trees, also in their late bloom, dot the woods with unexpected beauty,— looking afar off like white roses sprinkled in the grass. How well their great round tops contrast with the tall pines further up on the hill! The grouping of plants is admirable as the several beauty of each. Nature never combines the inappropriate, nor makes a vulgar match. There are no misalliances in that wedlock. How lovely is the shadow of the oak, as it lies there half on land, half in the water! The swallow stoops on the wing, dips her bill, and then flies off to her popu-

lous nest in the rafters of the barn; how curiously she clings there, braced by her stiff tail, and wakes up the little ones to fill their mouths! and then comes such twittering as reminds the city horse of his own colthood in the far-off pastures of Vermont.

"Ah me," says the grocer, "what a world of use here is! see the ground, how rich the clover is! time it was cut, too,— running into the ground every day. How the corn comes out! Earth full of moisture, air full of heat, country never looked finer! How the Indian corn, that Mississippi of grain, rolls out that long stream of green leaves; it will tassel this very week! What a fine water power the pond is! only ten foot fall, and yet it is stronger than all the king's oxen, turns 'Zekiel's mill just as it used to father's, sawing in winter and spring, and grinding all the year through; now it does more yet, for he has put the water to 'prentice, and taught it many a trade. How big the trees are! that great pasture white oak, twenty feet in circumference,— Captain McKay would give two hundred dollars for it, take it where it stands, here; it has only one leg to stand on, but so many knees! That hill-side where the cows are, what admirable pasture it is, early and late! see the white clover — a little lime brought that out! what a growth of timber further up! What a useful world it is! what a deal of engineering it took to put it together! only to run such a world after it was set up must take an Infinite Providence. It is a continual creation, as I told Dr. Banbaby; but he could not understand it, for 'it was not in the Bible,' no part of revelation; 'continued creation is a contradiction in the adjective;'—well, well, it is an agreement in the substantive, a fact of nature if not a word of theology. What a useful world! But what a power

of beauty there is too! How handsome the clover is! — Miss Moolly Cow, you don't care anything about that; it is grass to you, to the bee it is honey; it is loveliness also to my eyes. The Indian corn — a Mississippi of use is it? Why, it is the loveliest Amazon that ever ran in all this green world of grains! That millpond grinds use for brother 'Zekiel all day long, makes him a rich man. But what beauty runs over the dam, year out, year in, and comes dripping down from those mosses, on the stones: how much more of it lies there in the pond to feed the lilies, handsome babies on that handsome breast,— and serve as looking-glasses for the clouds all day, the stars all night! This makes all the neighbours rich, if they will only hold up their dish when it rains wealth of handsomeness. Beauty is all grist,— no toll taker out for grinding that. Mill-pond is useful and beautiful at the same time, a servant and a sister. How that little cat's paw of wind rumples its dress, and those

'Little breezes dusk and shiver,'

just as Matilda Jane read it to me in Tennyson last Sunday afternoon, when her mother was hearing Dr Banbaby preach on the 'Fall of man.' What an eye that Tennyson has! — he sees the fact, daguerrotypes it into words. If I were a poet, I would sit right down before nature and paint her just as she is, that is the way Tennyson does. So did Shakespeare — did not put nature's hair into papers, liked the original curl, so did I, so does God. There, it is all gone now, just as still as before! I used to fish here,— but I only caught the outline of the hills, and the shadows of the trees. How those great round clouds come and look down there, and see their own face! What! don't you

like it, that you must change it so fast? Well, you keep your beauty, if you do change your shape. What sunny colors! It is Sunday all the time to the clouds and the pond. How all the hills are reflected in it! and see the linden tree, and the great oak, and the white-faced cow, the house, the wall and the sweetbriers on it; and underneath all are clouds! so the last is made first, and the first last. Mr. Church, who painted that Andes picture at the Athenæum, could not come up to this, not he, no, if he had Titian to help him! Look at the reflection of that great oak tree! Worth two hundred dollars for use is it? Captain McKay shan't have it; no, not for a thousand dollars! No, no, dear old tree! Grandfather who was shot at Lexington used to tell grandmother, and she told everybody of it, that it was a large, full-grown tree, when his great-great-grandfather built the first log-house in town. Underneath that he first took his pack off his shoulders, and his hat from his head, and stood up straight, and offered his prayer of thanksgiving to God. 'Ebenezer,' said he, 'hitherto hath the Lord helped us,' and he called his first son by that name — Ebenezer Welltodo. Here the old pilgrim buried Rachel, his first daughter, a tall girl, they say, but delicate. She died when she was only fifteen,— died the first year of their settlement, came over from England. But the garden rose could not stand the rough winters of those times, faded and died. The old pilgrim — he was only thirty-six or eight then, though — buried that rosebud under the great oak. When he was digging the grave, a woodpecker came and walked round on the trunk of the tree, and tapped it with his bill, and then stood close to his head and looked at him with great red eyes. He never had seen such a woodpecker before, nor any wild creature so

tame, and called it a bird of paradise sent to tell him that his daughter was safe in the promised land. So he finished her grave, and lined it with green twigs which the oak-pruner had cut off from the tree, and covered her young body with the same — they had no other coffin — and filled it up with earth, and planted a wild-rose bush there for headstone. So this Rachel, like the other, was buried under a tree, and this Jacob also had his oak of weeping. I don't know how it is, but there has been a woodpecker in some of the great dead limbs ever since. Dear old oak! if there be 'tongues in trees,' what stories you could tell! You are as fair to the memory as to the eye. You shall never go to the mill; — too beautiful for use, you build what is worth more than ships, for there is a heart in you!

"Look there, where the old barn stood! how the ivy and wild grape vine have come and covered up the rock, casting a handsome veil over what man left bare and ugly. So it is on all the roadsides betwixt here and town. One day the railroad embankments will be also green and lovely. First come weeds — a sort of rough great coat, then grass, then flowers also. So is it with all our destructiveness. Nature walks backward, and from her own shoulders casts the garment of material beauty on the human shame of Waterloo and Balaklava, and all the battlefields of earth. See how the rock is covered with vegetation. houseleek here, celandine there, and saxifrage — how early it comes out, close to the snow; while mosses and lichens grow everywhere! Beauty pastures even on the rocks — God feeding it out of the clouds; He holds forth a cup, and every little moss comes and drinks out of it and is filled with life.

"What does it all mean? Is God so liberal, that, after drawing use for the customers at his universe of a shop, he lets the tap run awhile merely for the beauty of the stream? Use costs us hard work, but the beauty of nature costs nothing. He throws it in as I do the twine and paper with a pound of cheese. No; for that I get pay for in another way. He gives it, just as I gave little Rosanna Murphy, the Irish girl with the drunken father who went to the house of correction for beating his family — thank God I don't sell rum — just as I gave Rosie an orange last Friday when she came to buy the saltfish. That is it, he gives it in. 'Don't charge anything for that,' as I told her poor little Rosie, who had been crying for her good-for-nothing father: 'We don't ask anything for that. I give it to you that you may be a good girl and happy, and know there is somebody richer than you who takes an interest in you, to let you know somebody loves you.' How she dried her tears and did thank me!

"Well, it must be a good God who makes such a world as this, and when we only pay for the dry saltfish of use — often with tears in our eyes — pats us on the head, flings in this orange of beauty and makes no charge, 'so that you may be a good girl and happy, and know that somebody takes an interest in you, that you have a friend in the world!'

"'Comes of nothing,' does it? 'No plan in the world, no thought,' is there? 'The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God,'— that is, because he is a fool. He must be a fool to think so, a natural born fool, a fool in four letters. Well, I pity him; so does God. Poor fool, he could not help thinking so. I do not believe in Dr. Banbaby's God,— a great, ugly devil, sending Elias and two bears — miraculous she-bears —

to kill, and 'carry off to hell,' forty-two babies who laughed at his bald head. I don't believe in such a devilish God as that! it is worse than the fool's no-God. But there is wisdom and power somewhere! Think of all this,— sermon on the mount, sermon on the hill, sermon in the pond, in the oak tree — a dear good sermon that is,— sermon in the wild-rose and the lily! Yes, that swallow twitters away a whole one Hundred and Nineteenth Psalm of praise to God. How all nature breaks forth into voice as soon as you listen! I don't blame her, I would if I could. Sing away there, fire-hangbird! buzz away there, humble bee in the pumpkin blossom! there is an Infinite Goodness somewhere! You don't know it, but you grow out of it, all of you! The world itself is but one little moss, drinking from the cup God holds in his hand. Ah me! if the Rev. Banbaby would come out here and read God's fresh hand-writing, and not blear his eyes so continually over the black print of John Calvin and the Synod of Dort; if he would study St. Nature only half as much as St. Revelation, he would never have preached that sermon on the 'Damnation of the Unbaptized,' and declared that all such were lost, and especially infants, on whom God visits the sins of their parents for ever and ever,— which he did let fly on the Sunday after poor widow Faithful lost her only child, a dear little boy of fifteen months. No wonder she went crazy the next week, and I took her to Worcester!

"This must be the meaning of it all,— it is a revelation of God's love. That is what it is. Consider the lilies of the pond,— they all teach this: If God so clothe the lilies in brother Jacob's mill-pond, watch over them, ripen their seed thus curiously under water, sow it there, and keep the race as lasting as the stars,

will he not much rather bless every soul of saint or sinner, O Rev. Banbaby? Oh, foolish congregations of self-denying men, who think you must believe in all the clerical nonsense and bad-sense which ministers preach at you! where are your eyes, where are your hearts, where are your souls, that you make such a fuss about?

> 'Why this longing, this for ever sighing
> For such doctrines ghastly, hateful, grim,—
> While the beautiful, all around thee lying,
> Offers up its low, perpetual hymn?
> Would'st thou listen to its gentle teaching,
> All that restless longing it would still,—
> Flower and pond and laden bee are teaching,
> Thy own sphere with natural work to fill.'"

Mr. Welltodo is right; that is the meaning of it all. Love sums it up: "All things are double"— use this, beauty that, Old Testament and New Testament are thus bound up in the same volume of nature. What a revelation of God's goodness this world of beauty is! How it comes to the tired young milliner, soothes her weariness, quickens her imagination, and then laps her in the arms of sleep, till all is joyous, blessed rest! No, in that rest she longs for another tranquility,— the soul's rest in the infinite perfections of God.

How this mundane beauty comes to the calculating man, lifts him above his "sugars" and his "flours" he meant to spend all Sunday in thinking over; and shows him the heavenly meaning in this life of ours!

What a revelation it is of the cause and providence of all this world! God gives us use! "giveth liberally." You might expect it. But that is not enough for him. He adds another world, which feeds and cheers the superior faculties. There is use for need and virtue, beauty also as overplus and for delight. We ask corn

for bread; God makes it handsome and it feeds the mind. It seems to me as if he could not give enough to satisfy his own benevolence. How he spreads a table with all that is needful for material wants, and then gives this beauty as a musical benediction to the feast, — a grace before and after meat! To a thoughtful man, how the sight of this wakens emotions of reverence, love, and trust! Who can doubt the casual goodness which makes the fairness?

Men tell about "miracles," which prove "the greatness of the Lord" and "his goodness too;" that he was once angry with mankind, and sent a flood, which killed all the living things on earth from the lowest plant up to the highest man, save only eight men and women and a troop of inferior animals, whom he kept in a great box, which floated for a whole year on this ocean of murder, and then let out the ancestors of all things that now live upon the earth; that he miraculously confounded the speech of men building a city, and they fled asunder, leaving their abortive work; that he miraculously plagued Egypt with grotesque and awful torments, and by miracle led Israel through a sea of waters closing on their foes, and into a sea of sand, which eat up one generation of the Israelites themselves; nay, that by the ministration of one Hebrew man continued miracles were wrought for forty years; and then, yet more wonderful, by another, at whose word water was changed to wine, the bread of five sufficed five thousand men, the wanting limb came strong again, the dead returned to life,— nay, at his death, that the very sun stood still, and darkness filled the heavens at high noonday, while the rocks were rent, the graves stood wide, and buried saints came back to light and life. Believe it not! To me such tales are ghastly as Egyp-

tian idols and Hindoo images of God, mixing incongruous limbs of beast and bird and man. In this little leaf there is more divinity than in all those monstrous legends, writ in letters or carved out in stone. But the daily wonder of nature, which is no miracle, — that is the actual revelation of God's power and goodness, a diamond of love set in the gold of beauty.

Look all about you! What a ring of handsomeness surrounds the town! What a heaven of loveliness is arched over us! See how earth, air, and water are turning into bread! Out of the ground what daily use and beauty grow! Think of the thousand million men on earth; the million millions of beasts, bird, fish, insect! They all hang on the breasts of heaven, and are fed by the motherly bounty of infinite perfection. This is a clover blossom at one end of the stalk,— at the other end is God. Yes, all rests in him, flowers out of him, lives by him, leads us to him. All this material beauty of nature is but one rose on the bosom of deity, overlooked by the infinite loveliness which is alike its cause and providence. Yea, the universe of matter is a revelation of him,— of his power in its strength, of his wisdom in its plan and law, of his love and his loveliness in that perfume of the world which we call beauty. Earth beneath and heaven above are greater and lesser prophets, gospel and epistle, and all unite in one grand Psalm, "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and goodwill to men."

VI

GOD'S REVELATION IN MATTER AND MIND

1. Religious Consciousness
2. God in the World of Matter
3. God in the World of Man
4. God in the Relation Between Matter and Man
5. The World of Matter and the Spirit of Man
6. Relation of Man and God.

1

THE INNERMOST FACTS OF RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS

That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from any one of us.— Acts xvii, 27.

Every animal has instinct suited to its nature, work and duty; thus the young turtle and duck betake them to the water as soon as they are born, the egg yet clinging to the creature's back; the newborn mosquito flies from the sharded envelop, his watery cradle, and tries his thin wings in the air; and straightway do all these seek their food. These young animals do this not as an experiment, not by an act of will. Instinct is older than experiment, it is stronger than will. It is a power executing the plan of some other mind, which is not personal to the turtle, duck or mosquito, which thinks for them, not merely by them. It is a general and unconscious gravitation, as it were, of the animal towards what is needful for his natural work and ultimate destination. All animals have this power of instinct, which becomes before knowledge and will, and with them takes the place of religion and conscience.

Man has a natural work and ultimate destination higher than the beasts about him. His whole being is more complicated. Hence he has a variety of instincts which come before knowledge and will, and at first take the place of religion and conscience. They are adequate to this work. Here and there an individual man may resist them, but they overpower the mass of men. By a force which is not personal and voluntary, depending on our will, but impersonal and involuntary, wholly

independent of our caprice, do they lead us on towards our ultimate destination. This assured control of instinctive nature over personal will gives a steadiness to human action spite of individual caprice. Susan and Abijah may fast the next ten days; but mankind will eat breakfast, dinner and supper. The human race can violate no instincts. Abelard and Eloisa may go into the convent and nunnery; but mankind can neither take nor keep monastic vows, no more than the Gulf of St. Lawerence could run up the river over Niagara and travel that road to Lake Superior. Some of these instincts tend only to nourish the material excellency of man, to provide food, defence, shelter, and the perpetuation of the race. These man has in common with the mosquito, duck and turtle. But as man is both material and spiritual by nature as he has work both for time and eternity, and an ultimate destination for heaven, as well as a present destination on earth, so in him there are instincts not personal nor needed elsewhere. These are commensurate with his complex nature, his various works and ultimate destination. They connect him with the material and spiritual world. Thereby he enters into relations with forms of existence not known to the animals.

Among the faculties peculiarly human there is the religious instinct. I mean that original disposition of human nature which inclines a man to the Power which is over all, to fear or reverence, trust and love that Power. This religious instinct is in all men. Like other faculties it appears in various degrees, here strong, there weak. In kind it is alike in all, in quantity diverse in each. Like all other spiritual instincts,— intellectual, moral or affectional,— it is feeblest in the

lowest form of civilization, hardly perceptible in the wild man or the baby; weak in the savage or the child, but strong in the enlightened nature and the full-grown man.

This religious instinct is as certain in its action as the appetite for food; and though Susan and Abijah may control it by their individual caprice, yet it leads nations and mankind to recognize a Power in them and yet above them. Hence there is as much regularity in the religious history of mankind as in the course of the Gulf Stream or the zodiacal lights, the mutations of the moon or the eclipse of the sun. Individual caprice in religion is to the religious development of mankind no more than the foam of the shore is to the weight of the ocean, an infinitesimal which disturbs nor wind nor tide. William and Harriet may deny God, and flout at religion; but mankind can no more be an atheist than a monk. Nay, you shall find a nation without bread as soon as without a God.

From this primitive religious instinct has come the world of internal religion, which consists of religious feeling, thought and will; and this creates the outer world of religion — theologies, rituals, forms, ceremonies, temples, churches, all round the world. These grow out of mankind as naturally and unavoidably as the flora and fauna from the ground. In the legendary Genesis of creation, in Hebrew speech, God says, "Let the earth bring forth grass," and the earth brought forth grass. In the actual Genesis of history, in the instinct and reflection of human nature, God says, "Let mankind bring forth forms of religion," and it is so.

Signs of religious life appear early in the history of mankind, as of the individual. As soon as man has any

personal self-consciousness, and feels "I am a *me*," he has also religious consciousness, and feels this consciousness of a Power about him everywhere, within him at all times, and yet above him. This religious consciousness of mankind has had a growth in righteousness as certain and continuous as that of yonder elm; it has been so, is, will be. There are individual exceptions, but mankind is one great instance of regular and continuous religious growth.

To understand this religious consciousness, and to use its vast forces for our own development and perfection, let us look its facts carefully in the face, and know its great features. To do this carefully and perfectly, take both the method of the natural philosopher, who looks on things in large masses, gathers from a wide field of observation, and by many facts connects what is exceptional, extra or deficient, in a single case; and take also the method of the metaphysician, who studies the facts of his own individual consciousness, and gathers his knowledge from that little walled-garden of private experiences. The one method will fit the religious consciousness of mankind as shown in the great facts of the world's religious history, the other the religious consciousness of the individual, Susan or Abijah, with their personal caprices and individuality of character; but the last helps you understand the first, as by the experience of your own sight you comprehend the theory of vision, which is formed on a world of facts you never experienced.

Take the human race in all times past and present, and consider it as one great being, a single human nature, continuous in many million human persons; call this mankind. Study human history as the personal being thereof, and learn the innermost facts of

man's religious consciousness. They are these three: (1), a feeling of weakness, sinfulness, dependence on somewhat; (2), a feeling after what we may depend on, and a finding of God; (3), a desire of union with God, and a struggle after it.

These are the three innermost facts of the religious consciousness. Look at them a moment in detail.

Mankind was created wild; men, as other diamonds, in the rough. Civilization is the highest work of man, not the original gift of God; it is mankind's wages, not God's bequest; human income, not divine capital. The cause and power only are given by God in human nature; by the development and use and enjoyment thereof do we attain the result. When this baby man first comes to consciousness, he finds himself surrounded by forces mightier than he. Wild beasts overmaster him, summer burns him, winter freezes, the storm wets. There are violent things which make him tremble — the hurricane and the thunder, volcano and earthquake. Hunger bows him together. Pestilence comes on him like a lion. Day and night are swifter and stronger than he; the ground, the sun and stars seem old, while he is of yesterday; yet they are forever young while human hair turns white, and whole generations come and go, and go and come. In the midst of these things our savage feels weak. They are master, he servant. He fears and trembles. He is not his own cause; things without direct and control him; they give him birth without his foreknowledge or consent, and finish his life against his will. He feels his dependence on somewhat.

See how the baby comes to consciousness of its body, and learns to distinguish between the *me* of the body

and the *not-me* of the body. So at a later date he becomes conscious of the soul or the entity of his being, and learns to distinguish between the me of the soul and the not-me of the soul, the me and something other. This is the first fact of religious experience.

He longs for something he can flee to and rest in. He fears the evil about him,— wild beasts, thunder, storm, pestilence, death; but with self-consciousness his religious instinct wakens, and he feels there is a Power stronger than these forces, something he can rely on, flee to, trust in, and be safe. He does not know it yet, only feels it by instinct, yearns after it, turns towards it as the young turtle to the water, as the fly to the air. Oh, that he could find this something, and be at home with it, getting deliverance from his fear! So he must account to his mind for what his religious instinct hints to him. He must know what he relies on as well as feel it. Then comes the search after God, the long struggle of mankind to find an idea of that Power which controls him, a conception equal to his soul's desire and need. The longing soul goes wooing for its mate. At first it is not God man finds; it is the divine rather than deity; I mean a vague Power, not conceived of as a person. For in the formation of the solar system there was first a huge nebulous mass, without form and void, which at length separated into concentric, whirling rings, which at last condensed into planets, moon and sun; so this object of religious feeling appears to mankind first as an indirect mass of superhuman power before it gets separated into distinct conceptions, which men call Brahma, Jehovah or Lord. This indefinite object of religious feeling let me call the divine. Out of this mass of superhuman power man makes his conception of God. In doing this he is con-

trolled by the special ethnological disposition of his tribe or race; by the degree of civilization it has reached, and also by the aspect of nature, the material world about him. When the northern winter starves him with hunger and cold, or when the tropic heat scares him with its thunder and ligtning, with tornado and pestilence, or when earthquakes and volcanoes disturb the peace of the world, then this religious consciousness of the savage takes the form of fear, and the conception of God is terrible. But if the sky be mild, the forces of nature friendly; if the world smiles on him, his religious consciousness reflects the smile, and his conception of God is more lovely. So the conception of God always depends on three forces:

(1), on the ethnological disposition of the people; (2), on the degree of development which man's faculties have reached; and (3), on the aspects of nature which surround him.

In the history of mankind's search after God, while he is separating the divine into definite deities, you notice three distinct forms of conception he arrives at and rests in for a time:

(1), God conceived of as the forces of nature; (2), God conceived of as the forces of man; (3), God conceived of as neither nature nor yet man, but as infinite perfection, which includes each, the matter of nature and the spirit of man, and transcends both. All actual or possible conceptions of God may be classed under one or other of these three heads, for man has but the three categories wherein to class the divine,— Matter, Spirit, Infinity. But the three pass into each other, by invisible shades, similar at the circumference, where this combines with that, though they are utterly unlike at the centre.

In the first, man takes the most dangerous beasts for God. They are objects of worship. Thus, in India the lion and tiger, in Egypt the crocodile, in South Africa the lion and boa constrictor, in Siberia the bear, have all been held as God. The brute enemies of man are typified as God.

Subtle and crafty animals, or such as are mysterious in their instincts, their movements or modes of life, are thought divine. Thus the cat, the snake, the beetle, the stork, become sacred objects of religious worship.

Then the useful animals come in for their place, and the cow and bull are transformed into beneficent deities.

The great forces of nature are thought God,— the thunder, lightning, wind, fire, the volcano, the earthquake.

The great objects of nature which have a continuous power, some vast forest, some great river, the holy Rhine, Nile, Ganges; some mountains, Olympus, Caucasus; the sea, the earth, the sun, the moon, and " those five other wandering fires," the daily or the nightly heaven.

But as no one of these is God, and as only the fact can ultimately content man, so he gradually outgrows each of these conceptions, and travels further in his religious pilgrimage, whereof each step is a needful part, and every fall is found an experience which is helpful. The beastly deity was once a triumph of religious thought. I look over a missionary museum of idols as a collection of farm tools of ages past.

At length God is conceived of as a man, a personal God with human qualities enlarged and extended wide. At first it is a man mixed with beasts, whereof the Egyptian idols still present the proofs. Soon it is man without the beast.

It is a cruel man, with great powers of self-will, "a man of war." Moloch, Mars, Ares, Thor are examples. God is regarded as almighty human power and wrath.

Then it is a wise man, with power of knowledge, God as all-knowing mind. This is a great advance above the brute force of the step below.

Then it is a moral man, with power of justice, a firm unbending law. God is also retributive justice. This is another great step, from the wise man made God to the conscience raised to deity.

Then it is an affectional man, with power of benevolence. God is all-blessing love. Here, too, is a great step, to introduce love into the composition of deity.

But all these are necessarily limited. Personality is being with a limitation; not the wide sky, but a bagful of air, no more. In the nature of the beast or of the world we find no adequate representation of God. Even the natural revelation conceived as a unit of force was not God enough to answer the need of thoughtful man. No more is the spirit of man an edequate representation of God. So in all these ideas of God in human form, in the six great historic forms of religion among civilized men, the conception of God is found inadequate to human needs, for there are limitations to the excellence ascribed to God. His power of will is hindered by caprice; his power of knowledge by the uncertainty of human conduct; his power of justice by selfishness, which breaks its own law; his power of love by hate. The present prevailing conception of God in religious history is God in the form of man; inspired man, as Moses, Prophets, Apostles; transfigured men, as angels, spirits; God-man, as Christ, very God and very man; or God-woman, as the Virgin Mary. Each

one of these conceptions has its faults, and though men call it perfect as a whole, in detail you see it is not so. These conceptions become unsatisfactory; they are fluctuating, not fixed; man revises his statutes, and his idea of God, both amenable to perpetual improvement.

At length the idea of God in the form of man is left behind, and the soul conceives of God as Infinite Perfection. He has not the limit of brute matter, matter which is only static or dynamic force; nor the limit of animated beasts, which are matter vitalized, matter and something more; nor with the limitations of man, who though animal and something more, spiritual as well as material power, is yet spirit with limitations. Men conceive of God, not with the limitations of impersonality, which is below man, nor with the limits of human personality; but as Absolute Being, whose nature embraces all perfections men can conceive, and yet transcends that conceived perfection. He must have the perfection of being and of power and of mind,— all knowledge, not knowing by proofs as we know, but without proofs; of conscience, perfect knowledge of right; of will, perfect freedom; of affection, perfect love; of religion, perfect integrity. God must feel right, know right, will right, do right. Personal ourselves, we must use the help of personality to express what we know transcends the limits of personality.

Thus we have developed the second of these innermost facts of religious consciousness, and step by step attained the knowledge of God. If the civilized man stands high on the ladder, let him remember each step is on the shoulders of a man; and you and I are further up than Moses or Buddha, Paul or Jesus, because we come later, and stand on their heads in this mighty

pyramid of human history, half of whose height is hid below the ground. As the philosopher who perfects a Crystal Palace [1] is dependent on the rude men who may a thousand years gone by have begun to clear wood, to pile stone into walls, or to work iron; and on all the geometers who thought out the laws of structure, the quantitative relations of things; and the architects who builded wigwam or cathedral, so he who to-day from his lofty idea of God as infinite power, wisdom, justice, love, integrity, depends on all the men of great religious thought from Calvin back to Moses, and on the millions of men and women of great religious feeling, who furnished the combined material for the theologian's thought. So much for the second great fact of religious consciousness.

The third great fact is the desire of union with God, to be on good terms with the deity, to do God's will, and to be at one with him, your individual string tuned to the general concord of his melody. After man has found a conception of God equal to his soul's desire, he yearns for intimate union with that deity. So he does deeds suited to the will of his special conception of God. High above him is the God he worships, to whom he submits all his pleasures and his purposes. The service man pays is proportionate to the character of his deity. Here it is revenge, there it is forgiveness. Abraham sacrifices Isaac, the good Samaritan heals a wounded stranger.

From his desire of union with God come all forms of worship. The sacrifices of old time were made to Jehovah by the Hebrews or to Zeus by the Greeks. Was it thought that a man had a limb or a member which God did not like, it was cut off. Thence also

came the creeds of nations. Hence priestly men whose business was to appease God, and make him propitious to the special worshipper. Hence all the temples, convents, nunneries of the world. If God was thought cruel, the means of pleasing him were found in cruelty towards those who were deemed to be his enemies. Hence came the cruel persecutions of the Christians by the Pagans, of the Jews by the Christians, by the Catholics of the Protestants, by the Protestants of the Catholics, by the Mormons of the Christians, and by the Christians of the Mormons. But if God be thought friendly, wise, just, loving, then must we seek to find the way to him by the development of our nature by morality and piety, wisdom, justice, love, humanity, integrity; i. e., by the normal use of all the faculties he gives. Each age helps the next, as the next generation of merchants will learn wisdom by means of the commercial crisis in the midst of which those of to-day are now struggling. So it is with this third great fact of religious consciousness.

Now, as you look over human history there is a remarkable unity in it. All nations become conscious of weakness, dependence. All seek after and find a conception of God which is suited to their experience of nature and observation thereof, to their ethnological disposition, to their degree of development of faculties. All seek union with God in ways suited to their idea of him. Each nation and age thinks it is contented with its idea of God and its form of religion; the savage not less than the civilized, the Jew than the Christian. But no progressive age or nation is content; all are seeking for what is newer and better. There is a continual growth of religious consciousness. The concep-

tion of God rises from beastial or material force to human power, from brute caprice to love which embraces all men; it rises from the limitations of personal humanity to unlimited infinite perfection. There is the same progress in the idea of union with God. Man passes from the sacrifice left on a rock for a lion or a tiger; from the Hebrew mutilation of the body or the Christian mutilation of mind, conscience, heart and soul, up to the highest development of love and good-will. Abraham would save his soul by the sacrifice of his only son; Jesus of Nazareth by dying would save others.

Let us not scorn the humble steps of the staircase of humanity. Every idol which Caucasian, Mongol, Malay, American, Ethiopian ever formed or fancied has been a help in mankind's religious development, a groping after God. These are mile-stones along the human path, which show how far man had got at that time. Extinct forms of religion are the cast-off clothes which man leaves behind him, because he has outgrown them or else outworn. At Washington, in the Library of Congress, you see the books which George Washington used at school. So in history, the records of the past, you find the old forms of religion. So all the theologies,— Brahmin, Buddhist, Classic, Hebrew, Christian, Catholic, Protestant, Calvinistic, Lutheran, Trinitarian, Unitarian,— are steps on that pilgrimage. The Hebrew groped after God, and held up the Old Testament as the only image of him who dwelleth not in temples. Of him they would make no likeness save in word, nor speak his name lest the Gentiles should learn it, and find the way to his divine favor. The Greeks groped after God, and found the divine image broken into many fragments. So the East Indian, so

the Catholic, so the Protestant. Mankind needs the gift of all of these contributions to progress, nay, the least of them. All forms of religion are attempts at union with God; the rude to bring God down, the refined to raise man up. Sacrifices, priests, processions, pilgrimages, psalms and hymns, and other religious acts, in all the thousand languages of the earth, are but attempts to woo the presence of the Divine, entreating him, with all the handsome names of human speech. Man draws his bow at a venture! How many experiments, but not one in forty hits the mark; yet mankind did its best, and not a single shot has been in vain or could be spared. How long the baby tries to walk! From birth to manhood it is more than twice ten tedious years, and yet this individual life is but three score years and ten. Mankind is to live forever in eternity, and so can afford a long babyhood. Man hopes for union with God here, and still more hereafter. All the idolatries of the Tartar, Hottentot, New Hollander, are attempts at it; the best which the place, the nation, the culture would allow. Mutilation of one's own body was for this; for this the persecution of other men. For this the monk went to his grim convent, for this the nun shut herself up within her ugly cell enclosed by walls of stone, not by arms of husband and daughter and son; for this the hermit went naked, fed on water-cresses, dwelt in a hollow rock; for this the fires of Smithfield reeked with human flesh; for this the branch of yonder elm groaned with a Quaker woman whom our fathers hanged there once. For this in many a land the Catholic lies down and worships a bit of bread when a Latin priest cries out, "Behold your God;" for this in old India the Buddhist throws him before the idol car,[2] and has

his body crushed to death, amid applauding crowds; for this in New England the Calvinist bows him before his grim and awful God, rejoices in the hell which he thinks shall sunder you and me, and has his humanity crushed out of his soul. It is union with God they seek. When America inducts into office her thirty thousand ministers, it is thus she reads the ecclesiastical contract: "Lo, I am weak, lead me to the Rock that is higher than I. Help me to know my God, to serve him, win his love, be one with him." This is what the church means. Spiritualism is a groping after God. "Oh, ye spirits of just men made perfect, or righteous men rising upwards, come tell us of God, and how to be one with him." Even atheism, the spiritual atheism of honest men, is a struggle for the same thing; it is a protest against the unrighteous idea of God which our theology offers. It comes from an inspiration of religious consciousness, as often as from the want of such inspiration. Such is the teaching of mankind.

The individual man goes through the same. These three things are the innermost facts of our religious consciousness. You and I are mankind in little, and a cup of water gives the same horizon as the Atlantic sea. You and I feel the same weakness and dependence amid strong things which overmaster, the same desire to know God, the same yearning to be at one with him. Hence are groanings that cannot be uttered.

Each thoughtful man has been oppressed with his own weakness. How powerless seems the individual man; in childhood, how dependent on the care of father and mother; in youth, on guardians and teachers; in manhood, how circumstances turn us about! How much depends on what at first seems accident or fate! Our bodily condition, strength, health, beauty; our

weakness, sickness, disability, dates back to ancestors we never saw. Our education, social position, domestic prosperity, depend on others whom we cannot control. No one is his own cause. There is a providence. Do you not feel this dependence in prosperity? I speak in a town which not long since was so blown with wealth that its leading merchants, lawyers, physicians, priests, denied there was any Higher Law. Politics depend only on politicians, trade on merchants; neither is available to seek ought else. When one man stole your letters from the mail, runs off with your railroad or another pockets your factories, and uses ninety thousand of your dollars to bribe representatives and senators withal; when a panic sweeps off the earnings of your life, the uncertainty of business makes us feel the dependence of our nature; still more when death darkens our window with his wings and leads off father, mother, lover, beloved, husband, wife, child, dear one.

We all of us seek to know the Power which orders it all. Our religious instinct, like that of mankind, tells you and me it is a design, not chance; not blind fate, but a Father's power. So we all inquire what is God. We would find him out unto perfection. Hence the effort to obtain a true conception of God, an idea which corresponds to the facts of observation without, of consciousness within. We go to the Bible, to the Catholic church, to Trinitarianism, Unitarianism, Mormonism,— "Show us the true Father," cry we. The Spiritualists would invoke the dead,—"Come back, Moses, Elias, Abraham; come back, Calvin, Swedenborg, Channing, Paul; tell us what is God and of what character." On the small scale as the great, the answer which contents us depends on our individual dispositions, our degree of culture, and on our surround-

ings. To many men nothing is presented but the grim and ugly conception of God which the popular theology affords, almighty power combined with almighty wrath. They either turn off to atheism for relief or else settle down into supreme fear of their almighty devil, the soul choked in the grasp of an awful hand. Happy is he who finds an idea of God which answers to the world without, adequate to the purposes of science; the world within, adequate to the needs of daily inward life! If the idea of Infinite Perfection comes to the soul, how glad we are! what growth it helps of every faculty!

How we seek for union with God, here and hereafter! For this the Hebrew circumcises his newborn boy; for this the Christian dips or sprinkles his child; for this the Sunday school; for this the Christian's prayer, the attempt at revivals of religion, four-days meetings, camp-meetings; for this the agony of individual persons, the cry, "God be merciful to me a sinner," or the groanings which cannot be uttered. For this men join the churches, and try to believe the various creeds, listen to the wailing music of the Catholic church, to the groans and sighs of the organ at Harlem or Friburg, hear the Methodist hymn and join in the enthusiasm it expresses in a great congregation. Do not all of us long for union with God, to think his thought, to will his law, to feel, to trust, to enjoy his love, yes, to live it now and forever!

With different degrees of force will men feel their dependence on a Power more than human; some not until adversity has laid them low. I will welcome the fall if it help me fly. We shall not all be content with the same idea of God or the same mode of union with

him. The choice will depend on our character, that on our natures, gifts, and the circumstances about us. The Chief Justice of Massachusetts had a slave woman before him the other day. Massachusetts said to her, "This moment you are free; you may continue so, and your children not yet alive will be all free-born. You may make yourself again a slave, then your children will be also slaves, so born, so bred, cattle, not men! choose as you will!" She chose slavery, bondage for herself, bondage for her children not yet born! It is so in religion. Preach to one man a God of Infinite Perfection, and a religion which is piety and morality, the service of God by freedom of mind, freedom of conscience, freedom of affection, freedom of soul, he does not like it; he wants fear not love, a devil for God and bondage to outward authority of another's caprice; not natural freedom, but slavery of mind, slavery of conscience, slavery of heart and soul. The world is wide, let each feed where he finds his bread. Let each be faithful to his own soul. We may well believe that in all ages

> "Every human heart is human,
> That in even savage bosoms
> There are longings, yearnings, strivings
> For the good they comprehend not,
> That the feeble hands and helpless,
> Groping blindly in the darkness,
> Touch God's right hand in that darkness
> And are lifted up and strengthened."

When a man finds an idea of God which answers all the needs of his present consciousness, and offers supply for future wants which come of what he feeds and grows upon; when he finds a mode of religion which encourages the natural and normal action of every

limb of his body; when in the innermost of his religious consciousness this God reveals himself as the cause and providence of you and me and all that is; and this mode of religion goes before and above him, an ideal whose guiding shadow leads him all the day, whose compassing fire encamps about him all the night, its presence, too, a rereward betwixt him and the ancient ills of some Egyptian darkness and bondage he has left behind, then what joy is his, what tranquillity and peace, and rest for the soul! It opens us a path through deep waters; it leads us across the wilderness, gives us bread from heaven, bread of life, water from the Rock, living water; we hunger and thirst no more, but in the strength thereof we journey on our three-score years and ten,

> "And by the vision splendid
> Are on the way attended."

2

GOD IN THE WORLD OF MATTER

The heavens declare the glory of God.— Psalm xix, 1.

I ask your attention to some thoughts on the signs and proofs of God found in the world of matter. I assume only two things at the outset: first, that the world of matter exists; secondly, that the faculties of man may be trusted to tell us the truth. Take the world of matter as far as understood now, and from the facts of the universe what can we learn about God? Let us look with no prejudice and see what we find in the world of matter.

Everywhere we find a vast power, and an ability to produce material effects. The world is not a dead thing. You find not only a deed done, a form formed; but also a doer doing, a form forming. Look at some details of this power. For convenience let us put this power into three forms — power of motion, of vegetation, and of animation.

What a power of motion there is in the world! Nothing is still. What we call rest is but the equilibrium or balance of many motions. On a large scale, see this in the planets revolving round the sun, in the winds, in the waters. On a small scale, see it in the rust of metals, in the growth and decay of wood, in the crumbling of stone, which is occasioned only by the motion of particles, as day and night, as summer and winter, by the motion of the earth.

How many forms of this motion there are! Attraction causes the movement of bodies, as bulk to bulk,

gross weight to gross weight. Here the quantity alone is effective, not the quality. Attraction, on a large scale, makes the sun and planets gravitate together, grouping Neptune and Mercury, and all the orbs between, into the solar system; a whole with a certain unity of static and dynamic power. On a small scale, it makes the atoms of water cohere into a spheral drop, another whole with a certain unity of static and dynamic force. This is quantitative attraction. The qualitative, which we call affinity, is the attraction of like to like. Gravitation musters all sorts of forces into the great army of the world, forever on the march, its little companies, platoons, and files of matter cohering well. What various elements make up this earthen regiment, wherein we are also getting trained! But affinity joins in yet closer wedlock like-minded things, though in this chemical, as in the human marriage, opposites often come together to make a richer whole.

What power of motion is there also in heat, light, electricity! Put all these together — motion caused by attraction, bulk drawing bulk by affinity, congenial atom in chemical union wooing and wedding each its own, by heat, light, electricity, and what a power of motion there is in the world! These fivefold forms go on continually, and never cease. They compose the material basis of all higher things, which rest thereon and grow. All these most diverse powers of motion — attraction, affinity, heat, light, electricity [3] — agree in this, that they are dead motion; they produce combination, not growth. The sulphate of copper which effloresces on the outside of the electric battery, or the common salt which effloresces on the outside of the housewife's earthen jar of butter, is each a dead power — chemical, not botanic, made, not grown. The

quartz crystal found in some New Hampshire rock has no growth in it. The particles came together by attraction, affinity, heat, electricity. The solar system is a work of mechanical attraction, not growth; a fossil, not a flower.

But higher than this five-fold power of motion is the power of vegetation — botanic growth. Here is motion, but differing in kind from what is caused by attraction, affinity, light, heat, electricity. The atoms of dust which float in the air are matter, nothing more; the housewife's flower of salt is matter crystallized— matter plus organization. The humblest lichen which grows on the damp wall of a city house is more, is matter botanized — organization plus growth. They produce the mask of vegetation, while the little lichen or the huge baobab tree [4] shows us the face. What a power of vegetation is there in the world! It covers the land; it lines the bottom of the shallow sea. Its great glory is in the gorgeous paradise of the tropics, whence it fades off towards either pole, where there are snow and ice, only chemic or mechanical flowers of motion, not cactuses and Amazonian lilies. How vast this power of vegetation is! What wondrous forms it turns to, and what a mighty function is fulfils, providing food for all things higher than vegetables, which live thereon!

Animation is another form of power; as much above vegetation as that is above mere motion. An animal is a plant, and something more. A crystal is matter organized; a plant, matter botanized; an animal, matter vitalized. What power of animation there is in the world! It peoples the land; it crowds the sea full of its fertile spawn. It pushes its handsome branches into the air, which hums with insects, and twitters with

birds. What various forms this animation assumes! radiates, mollusks, articulates, vertebrates, or into whatsoever states of life naturalists may divide this great kingdom of animated nature. So much for the fact of power in these three forms of motion, of vegetation, and of animation.

Note this general fact common to these three forms; the power is resident on the spot. It is not something foreign, which comes in from abroad, and acts spasmodically; it is something resident, "to the manor born," settled on the spot. Power of motion is in the moving bodies; power of attraction is in the sun and in Neptune and all the intervening orbs which gravitate to the solar system; it is in the particles of water which cohere to a special system of particles. Power of affinity is in the atom of hydrogen and in the atom of oxygen which unite. Power of heat is in the fire, the central earth and the sun. Power of light is in the rays undulating throughout all space. Power of electricity is in the spark which occupies the ground, the water, and the air, and in the things they enfold. This fivefold power of motion is not a force which comes in capricious, and capricious goes; it is a permanent settler, present always in its proper home. The power of vegetation is in the plant and its conditions of growth, not something outside of the plant and its conditions of growth. So the power of animation is in the animals and their conditions. The power of life is in the things that live. It is not a non-resident power which comes in from without and acts by fits and starts. It is permanently settled in the radiates, mollusks, articulates, and vertebrates. This threefold power which I speak of, whereof the world is full, is an immanent power,

residing on the spot. You find it nowhere else. There is no power of motion except in things movable; no power of vegetation except in things vegetable; no power of animation except in things animal. Matter is the nest of power; that is, that combination of circumstances and conditions necessary to the thing's being.

So far then, all we have gathered from the universe is the presence of power, ability to produce effects in three forms — power of motion, of vegetation, of animation. This power is the first thing that strikes the looker on.

Now, as we look further, we find that all these forms of power have a certain regularity, Motion is so, and not otherwise. There is a law of motion, a constant mode of operation for all moving things. On a still day, the acorn drops from the bough, and falls straight to the ground, one rod the first second, three rods the second second, five rods the third, and so on,— falling with accelerated velocity. This law of accelerated velocity prevails always and everywhere. A single force makes a thing move in a straight line, several in a curved line; and the same forces combining at the same angle always produce the same curve. This applies to the apple that little Johnny throws to his little cousin Susey, and to the bombs with which the British shelled Sebastopol and Delhi; to the vast sweep of Neptune round the central sun; and to the comet's nightly range. This law of motion is universal in all space which man studies; it is constant in all time, past and present. The gunner knows just where his shell will strike, the astronomer knows just where the planet Neptune was on the tenth of January, a million years ago; he knows

where it will be the next tenth of January, or a million years hence. Even the comets, which at first seem to be nothing but vagabonds —" vagrants of the skies "— in their eccentric course, are presently found to have a beaten track, and to observe a constant law of motion, which never changes. There is a corresponding law for every form of motion. The attraction of two things lessens as the square of their distance greatens. This rule is likewise universal, in all space and time.

So affinity has its laws. Things combine in different proportions. Every housewife knows that a quart of boiling water will dissolve so many ounces of sugar, and no coaxing, nor scolding, nor praying, will make it take up one pennyweight more; and when it cools, it drops part of what it took when hot. The chemist knows that one pound of hydrogen will unite with eight pounds of oxygen, and make nine pounds of water; but if he puts one and a half pounds of hydrogen to eight of oxygen, the oxygen takes its fill from the one pound, and leaves the other half pound mechanically adjacent, not chemically mixed.

The same is true of each other form of power — heat, light, electricity. Each has its constant law, that never changes. The power of vegetation has likewise its laws, its constant mode of operation. In the growth of a pine tree by the process of vegetation, the mineral matter of the earth, air, water is changed into a plant. The pine assimilates the substance of the earth, but each plant must have its own special nest of circumstances or it does not grow. Vegetation takes place only under certain conditions, in certain states of earth, air, water, under certain conditions of attraction, affinity, heat, light, electricity. There is a range of attraction, and temperature, and light. A greater attraction

between the sun and Jupiter would not allow a plant to grow. No plant on earth will live at a hundred and fifty degrees of heat, or at the zero point of cold. Mosses will not grow with too much sunshine or too little. Each special kind of plant must have its special place. There is a special law by which the lichen grows on the damp wall of a city house, and the baobab tree builds up its mighty form. Every country boy who has to drive the cows to pasture knows that certain mosses grow only on the north side of a tree, and in the darkest night he can feel the four quarters of the heavens by putting his hands round a tree, and finding where the great mosses grow. He knows that mushrooms, toadstools, and other fungi grow only about decaying substances. Every woodchopper knows that the north side of a pasture-oak contains the compactest wood, and is the hardest to cut. Each zone of temperature has its special kind of plants; nay, every continent and island has its peculiar flora. So vegetation is dependent on conditions, on the attraction of the earth, on the state of the ground, air, heat, light, electricity. These constant modes of operation of the vegetative power are known because we find them always kept. There is a special law by which each plant is governed, from the lichen which grows on the damp wall of a city house, building up its little evanescency, to the baobab tree growing its huge and lasting frame, — the constant mode of operation of botanic growth.

So is it with the power of animation. It has its law, its constant mode of operation. Plants grow out of the mineral world; it is their bed and board, the general nest of growth. All animals live on the vegetable world, or on such as feed thereon; no animal lives on

the mineral world. Each class of animals has its own special condition, its special nest of circumstances. This loves only the land, the water would be fatal; that only the water, air and land would drown the fish. Each climate has its peculiar animal, each animal its special habits of action, which are just as certain and regular as the motion of an acorn falling in a right line, with accelerated velocity, to the ground. The beast's organization determines what food it shall live on. In the prophet's ideal world of peace, it is said that "the lion shall eat straw like the ox." It was good Hebrew poetry, and was meant for that and nothing more. The lion can no more live by eating grass than the ox by eating lions. Ox and lion must take each what his organization demands, when he stands at God's table, and say nothing about it for conscience sake.

So there is a constant mode of operation whereby each animal builds up its frame, the law of animate life. This law resides in the nature of the thing; it is the constant mode of operation of its power. The law of motion is in the nature and structure of things that move. The law of attraction, affinity, heat, light, electricity is in the special bodies subject thereto. So the law of vegetation is in vegetables and plants and their conditions; and the law of animation is in the animals, — radiates, mollusks, articulates, vertebrates. In either case, it is not something outside, which comes in for a time, and acts by fits and starts; it is something that is always present there — just as solidity is in things solid, extension in things extended, divisibility in things divisible. The law of motion is in moving things, the law of vegetation is in growing things, the law of animation is in living things.

So far, the world of matter reveals to us power and also law — not power acting capriciously, but acting regularly, by constant modes of operation. There is a plan in all these things — motion, vegetation, animation; not only for a plan for each, in its separate action, but for all, in their joint activity. The power of motion in its five forms — attraction, affinity, heat, light, electricity — is a condition of the power of vegetation; without it no growth would be possible; take away from the world of matter either of these five modes of motion, and not a plant could be produced. Vegetation is the condition of the power of animation, without it not an animal could exist. Matter, moving by attraction, affinity, heat, light, electricity, is the nest for vegetation; matter moving, and vegetation are the nest for animals. The world of matter is the nest of forms, and power the nest of law.

The fact that this power of motion, vegetation, animation, acts in these constant modes of operation, after plans so regular, so universal, serves a purpose, shows that there is, likewise, intelligence in this world of matter, a something which knows and wills. It is not brute force, acting without knowledge and will; but an intelligent power, working by means well understood, continually directed to certain ends, which were meant to take place.

This intelligence let us call by the name of Mind,— by which I mean power of knowledge and will; mind which knows without process of thought, will which decides without hesitation or choice; not mind and will with human limitations, but absolute mind and will. The evidences of this mind are to be seen on every hand; on a large scale in the structural plan of the solar system,

with Neptune far off and Mercury close at hand, with many an intervening planet moving in rhythmic order round the sun. There is mind in this structural plan of the whole solar system, for every orb moves forever in its calculated track, which is shaped by the joint action of the sun and every planet, all of which act constantly by the law of motion and its constant mode of operation. Each revolves once a year [5] about the sun, and turns each day about its own centre of weight, always in the exactest order, never varying. This twofold motion produces effects which never fail, which are incident to the power of vegetation and the power of animation.

You see the same evidence of mind in the structure of the earth, in its complicated form, the inevitable product of many certain forces; in the arrangement of its great divisions of matter into air, water, land, in the special composition of each of these, and the fitness of each for its special function. And on a small scale you see the same power of mind, with knowledge and will, in the formation of crystals, the growth of plants, and the insects which live thereon.

Study the leaf of an orange tree,— what wisdom is displayed in its structure; how admirable its architecture; what nice framework, what exquisite finish; how intelligently are the elements combined in its chemistry, how the power of vegetation assimilates the particles of earth, air, water, whereby it grows into a plant! What a function the leaf has to perform — this little mason, building up the stem of the tree, and getting ready the substance of its flower and fruit! See the nice apparatus by which the plant breathes and gets its food! No city government can get a steam fire-engine to pump water with such economy as this

little "Miles Greenwood" [6] uses to keep itself always fired up, in good repair, and ready for action. Look at the aphis which has its world on this little leaf! See with what intelligence the same power of mind has used the power of life to fashion this minute creature; what organs he has to satisfy his individual wants; what power to perpetuate his race, wherewith he takes hold on eternity, forward and backward! Behind him he has a line of ancestors reaching beyond Noah, Methuselah and Adam. Study his internal structure; how wonderful the means which conspire to form his insect life! No municipal government is carried on with such wisdom. How admirable must be that constitution which gives unity of action to all his members, all working as one, and secures variety of action to each, individual freedom for each special member! It is so everywhere in the world of matter.

Now turn over that great volume wherein for many million years the Daily Journal and Evening Transcript [7] of the world appear, each leaf bound in stone, study this Old Testament of ages past, when no man trod on the earth, and on every page, in every line, in each letter, do you find the same mind, power of knowledge and power of will. That power is constant in all time which this great earthen book keeps record of, and it is continuous in all space whereof its annals tell. The more comprehensively things are studied on a great scale the more vast this mind appears in its far-reaching scope of time and space. The more minutely things are inquired after on a small scale, the more delicate appears this power of mind in its action. The solar system is not too big for this mind to grasp and hold, nor the eye of an aphis too small for it to finish off and provide for, as well as for the sun, that great eye of all

these spheres, and also lamp and fire-place for so many worlds all full of motion, growth and life.

This mind is not a non-resident, which comes and goes, now here and now elsewhere, which acts by caprice, by fits and starts; it is mind always on the spot, resident in things, not outside of things; active also in things. It is not mind afar off or idle, but ever-present mind, ever active in the solar system,— in the earth, in the air, in the water, in the quartz crystal that sparkles on a lady's finger, in the orange leaf at your parlor window, in the aphis that feeds thereon. It is not mind condensed, concentrated into a single spot or one minute; but diffused through all space, through every point, likewise, of time that we are acquainted with.

Now this mind, this power of knowledge and will, is not limited by any actual form of things. The seed knows nothing of the orange tree which thence shall grow; the aphis knows nothing of its posterity, there is no genealogical society to look up his ancestors; but this mind provides for all, transcends the actual form. The plant transcends the seed, the aphis transcends his ancestors. So the solar system is no limit; the doer doing continually transcends the thing done. And yet it is a very remarkable fact that this mind never seems experimenting, and thereby growing wiser. It is true you notice progress in the results of mind, in the deed done. Thus there is a continual ascending grade — first brute matter, an atom; then matter organized, as in the crystal; then matter botanized, as in the plant; then matter vitalized, as in the animal. And so there is a progress in the deed done; but the lowest is just as complete as the highest in its way, an atom as a crystal, a plant as an animal. The structural

plan of the lowest creature is just as perfect as the structural plan of the highest mammal; the details of a joint in a snow-flea's leg are finished with just as much care as the fiery atmosphere which surrounds the sun; that snow-flea's relation to his circumstances was cared for just as much as the sun's to the solar system he irradiates. There is no mark of the apprentice hand, no experiment which fails; the end seems known before as well as at the last. The rocks contain the annals of the world of matter for many a million years, all writ in the same hand-writing; but there is no mark which shows that a single letter was ever written wrong, and then erased and the right one put instead. So, though there be perpetual progress in the deed done, which indicates a plan, there is never any progress in the comprehension of the deed, there is none in the doer doing; each work-piece is also a master-piece, the first not less than the last.

So far, the world of matter shows power, law, mind. Looking farther still, in the world of animals you find signs of benevolence, in their relations to the world of matter and to each other; but this power of benevolence is not very obvious at first sight. To the rude, uninstructed man it is not very obvious, and to the most scientific man there are still many things in the world of matter which he cannot clear up and reconcile with benevolence. Thus, there is much material violence. In polar lands winter is horrid with frost; in tropic, summer is terrible with heat; and all the way between the air is often vexed with storms. There are thunder, lightning, earthquakes, volcanoes, now and and then a famine; great geological convulsions destroy whole faunas and floras of animated and vegetable life.

This power is directed by a mind which can destroy as well as create. Men's ferax, men's vorax. Then there is much animal violence. Each animal has his foe, his foreign enemy who springs on him from without; his domestic insurgent, who lodges in his skin and in his vitals. There are beasts of prey, birds of prey, fishes of prey, animals which devour live animals. It is so in all departments,— radiates, mollusks, articulates, vertebrates; it has always been so, as far back as geologic record tells. Constructive and destructive forces march side by side, and the solid crust of the earth is the graveyard of millions of creatures, perished long ago. I do not attempt to deny these exceptions. Sometimes the destructive powers in nature seem to preponderate, and accordingly men bow before an evil God; and I do not wonder that even now the difficulty is not quite cleared up by science, and that the popular belief still is that there is absolute evil in the material world. But this let me say, that on the whole, as far as the world is understood, the power of benevolence seems immensely to preponderate; and not a single thing has ever been found which any philosopher has ventured to say was wrong, or did more harm than good. Earthquakes, volcanoes, hurricanes, tigers, lions, rattlesnakes, vipers — nobody has ever pretended that they did more harm than good; the leaning of science is quite the other way, to suspect that what we call evil is good in reality, only not comprehended yet. There is no one thing found in the world on which a philosopher can put his finger and say, "It came from ill-will." That he leaves to theologians. The naturalist finds no devil anywhere; it is the theologian who finds him everywhere.

What, then, does the world of matter tell us of, thus far? Power, law, mind. They are certain everywhere,

at all times, power resident in the world of matter, law resident in the world of matter, mind residing there — three forms of God. Benevolence, also, but not so sure. I do not wish to claim anything which is unjust. I am not responsible for matter, nor for the proofs of God's character in the material world. I put down what I find, and only what I find.

You will tell me, "Men of science, greatly your superiors in everything,— students of nature, like Lalande, Laplace, von Baer, and Ehrenberg — have found no God in the world of matter;" and you will ask me why they found it not, and when they did not find it, why I dare say God is there. Here is my answer. The popular theology told them God has one special personal form, exists in one special, limited spot, whence he rarely intervenes — coming into the world of matter by miracle; that he was present at the creation of a world, of a new species, or a new geological epoch, and then withdrew and condensed his omnipresence into some special spot. The two astronomers said — "Our far-reaching glass penetrates wide space; we find no special form of God. There is no spot which we cannot look straight through. If there is any such God as you tell us of he must be behind the most distant nebulous spot seen in the constellation of Orion." The two naturalists said, "We have unrolled the stone-writ annals of the past, and they record no vestige of your God. There are 'vestiges of creation,' but not a single foot-print of your deity in the 'old red sandstone,' a billion of insect corpses in a cubic inch of slate, but not a mark of your God."

Let me ask the astronomers and the naturalists, "Do you find power?" "Power, immense, immanent power in every spot." "Do you find law?" "Law univer-

sal, a constant mode of operation that never fails. Ubi potestas, ibi lex — where power, there is also law." "Do you find mind?" "Mind? The world is full of mind — power of force directed in constant modes of operation, by power of thought and will, to purposes calculated beforehand by knowledge that never fails,— mind's causal power, ever creating; mind's providential power, preserving forever, that we find everywhere. Our telescopic eye beholds no spot but power, law, mind are there. We find no insect corpses so small but power, law, mind — causal, providential, continual — lodge therein. 'Vestiges of creation!' — they are the tracks of power, law, mind, stamped into the rock of ages in all times past."

"Do you find benevolence?" "Good-will we also find preponderating. No proof of ill-will; here with the microscope, there with our far-seeing telescopic-glass, nor now, nor then, nor here, nor there. All we understand is good, and only good. But there is evil which we do not comprehend. One day perhaps we shall, and find that also good!"

That is the answer which they give. See the works of these men, and you will find they answer all these questions. I have only translated their speech into yours and mine.

The world of matter is the only witness for God which I put on oath to-day. This testifies of power, law, mind — these everywhere. But there are sad faces in this great family of living things which make men tremble. The heavens thunder, man fears, and falls down and worships the power, law, mind, which the world of matter tells him of. Alas! he kneels on the lamb's bones which some wolf gnawed the day before,

and beneath him is a rock which records some geologic convulsion which ages ago swept off millions of living things. He trembles still, and turns off elsewhere for a world of love. Take the world of matter for what it is, not what it is not — love preponderates as a million over one.

The whole universe of matter is a great mundane psalm to celebrate the reign of power, law, mind. Fly through the solar system from remotest Neptune to the sun — power, law, mind, attend your every flight. Study each planet, it is still the same — power, law, mind. Ask any little orange leaf, ask the aphis that feeds thereon, ask the insect corpses lying by millions in the peat ashes of the farmer's fire, the remains of mollusks which gave up the ghost millions of years before man trod the globe, they all with united voice answer still the same — power, law, mind. In all the space from Neptune to the sun, in all the time from the silicious shell to the orange leaf of to-day, there is no failure of that power, no break of that law, no cessation in its constant mode of operation, no single error of that mind whereof all space is here, all time is now. So the world is witness to continuous power, never-failing law, to mind that is everywhere; is witness to that ever-present Power which men call God. Look up and reverence; bow down and trust!

3

GOD IN THE WORLD OF MAN

For the spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God.— 1 Corinthians ii, 10.

Last Sunday we looked at the world of matter, to induce thence proofs of God, his being and character; and found therein power, law and mind directing that power, by means of that law, and its constant mode of operation, to certain purposes, which were never ill-willed, and in which benevolence preponderated. Power, law, mind, we found imminent in the world of matter; not transient anywhere, but everywhere always. Proofs of benevolence we did not find so uniform in time and space, but yet preponderant; much not understood, but nothing ill-willed. From the world of matter we could induce a God of power, law, mind, and partial benevolence. In all time and space we found the powerful and wise God, the benevolence preponderant, but not so sure.

Let us look next at the proofs of God in the world of spirit, the world of man; and as we took the facts of observation to show us what the nature of matter tells us of God therein, let us now take the facts of consciousness to show what the nature of man tells us of God herein.

An atom is matter and no more, existence in its plainest form; a crystal is matter and something more, matter organized, material atoms plus organization; a plant is organized material atoms and something more, matter botanized, organization plus growth; an animal

is botanized organization and something more, matter vitalized, a plant plus life; a man is a vitalized plant and something more, matter spiritualized, an animal plus humanity. Now the material part of man, his body, is subject to all the conditions of other matter; it has the property of the atoms which compose it, of the crystals which form therein, and is subject to the laws of motion, vegetation, and animation. Therein, from the facts of observation, you find proofs of God, of power, law, mind, and partial benevolence, but they are the same in kind as what you gather from the world external to us; while, if you take the spiritual part of man, in which he differs from the world of matter, and examine that, studying the facts of observation which you see in other men, and the facts of consciousness which you feel in yourself, you may learn what the world of matter does not teach. The world of matter is one witness to testify of God; the world of spirit is another. Listen to the evidence from the facts of consciousness in your own experience and the experience of mankind.

To begin, we must know what is *me*, and what is *not-me*. The philosophic term me expresses what I am, and the term not-me expresses everything else. The baby does not at first distinguish between his own body and the world of matter about him; he thinks that the bosom that feeds him is as much a part of himself as the mouth that embraces it, that the sun is his eye, a part of himself, as much as the eye, not understanding that the light is a foreign substance impinging thereon. By and by he begins to perceive the limits of his material personality, and separate the me of the body from the not-me of the body. You and I do not remember this process, but every thoughtful mother

has observed it in her child. He feels the rubber ring, the cradle quilt, which give back no response to his touch. With little thoughtfulness he grasps his foot; then there is a twofold sensation of touch in his passive foot and active hand, and he laughs at the discovery. He is perambulating the borders of his little municipality. "The body, that is me," he concludes; "the rubber ring, the cradle quilt, they are not me." At a later age we do the same with the part of us which is not material. After determining the body's limits, we at first confound the *me* of the spirit with the *not-me* of the spirit, the spiritual things about us. Thus we sometimes claim as ours what is foreign, and yet oftener think that foreign and from without which is only a part of ourselves, a shadow of our spiritual personality; for as the body is surrounded with material things, sensible to touch, taste, smell, the eye and the ear, so is our spirit girt about by things conceivable to the mind, the conscience, the heart and the soul; by thoughts, ideas and spiritual influences, call them what you will. At first we do not clearly discern the bounds where we end and other spiritual things begin, and so we must make experiments to separate the spiritual me and the spiritual not-me. Some of you, perhaps, remember when this process began in your consciousness; perhaps it is not quite over with any one of us; parts of other men's consciousness lap over on ours, and we mistake their thoughts for our own, mistaking our reputation, what others think of us, for our character, what we are; and the reason is that we have not drawn the lines between our spiritual province and theirs. But here we commonly make a mistake just the opposite of the child's error. In babyhood we claim too much for our body, and in manhood often too little for

our spirit; and what is the result of our action we sometimes take for the invention of a foreign thing. The ghost-seer really looks at his own fancy, but he thinks he sees a murdered man risen from the grave. Martin Luther threw his inkstand at the visible devil, and it hit Martin's own whim. Jehovah appeared to Jacob in a dream; that was Jacob's story; Jacob dreamed that Jehovah appeared to him, and that was the fact. St. Theresa and St. Brigitta think certain wise or foolish things, and then say, "The Virgin Mary, Jesus of Nazareth or the Lord God came and told them to us." There was no fact in the statement; it was only their foolish whim. Job Scott, with an audience of a thousand men, sits in his chair, waiting for the holy ghost to come; an hour goes by, and no ghost appears; at length he springs to his feet and pours out his tide of speech; he says it is the holy ghost speaking through him, but it is only Job Scott saying what George Fox, and William Penn and James Naylor said a hundred years ago, and what he has himself repeated a hundred times before, when the mood was on him and his genius brought it back.

We all make this kind of mistake, and that frequently; and I take it no man ever completely separates the me of the spirit from the not-me. We give outness to much which is really only inward in us, and hence comes the immense difference amongst men in matters of opinion. Much, too, of our idea of God is purely subjective, and comes from the worshipper's consciousness alone, and not from any fact of God. In the religious books of the six great world-sects,— Brahmanic, Buddhistic, Hebrew, Classic, Christian, and Mahometan, what different notions of God do you find! Three-fourths of what they teach comes from the

writers' defect; they confounded their own faults and imperfections with the facts of God. Thus the Old Testament makes God say, "Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated." This saying comes from no fact in God; he is not at war with Esau; it comes from the prophet's hatred of the Arabians, the national enemies of the Jews, and he put those words into Jehovah's mouth. But the Arabian prophet would have put different words into his God's mouth, and he would have been represented as saying, "Esau have I loved, and Jacob have I hated;" when the fact was that the perfect God hated neither, but loved both the hairy and the smooth man.

The popular idea of the devil represents no fact in the nature of matter or in the nature of man, only the subjective feeling or thought of men who are not very wise nor benevolent. The council of orthodox ministers at North Woburn,[8] who refused to ordain a man as minister because he did not believe in the eternal damnation of babies newly born, think that God is a great, monstrous, ugly devil; but that idea represents no fact of the universe, only an ordained whim of the council.

Now, as men do not know how far their spiritual personality reaches, and take their own follies or dreams for miraculous communications of truth, and thence make deductions, it comes to pass that in all these six great forms of religion God has been regarded as a limited being, imperfect, and often represented as ugly and malicious. Accordingly, men with great humane instincts or higher reflection refuse to accept such an idea of God, and suffer bitter consequences; once inquisitors burned them alive at Toledo or Madrid as

atheists; now other inquisitors at North Woburn can only refuse to ordain them as ministers, not burn them at the stake. Other men finding that the God of the inquisitors has no existence, declare that there is no God at all.

Thus men undertake to get an idea of God from the world of matter, and thence infer an almighty being, who carefully plans out his work, does it, then withdraws, goes about something else; but now and then returns to look after his work, to improve it, add this or take that away, to mend it, to tighten a nut or oil a bearing. That is about the idea of God which is taught by the common run of writers, from Paley to Agassiz. They do not introduce you to the power and mind ever present in the world of matter, acting by constant modes of operation which transcend the present fact. The reason is, these men confound their personality with God, and put their limits on him; and from the world of matter brought back only what they carried there. I say this not to reproach the men who do this, but only to explain the fact and warn against the error.

The same fault is still more common with men who take all their facts from their own consciousness. I have read no writer whose idea of God is not affected by his own character. It is not possible it should be otherwise, for our idea of God is the result of our whole character; and as no two of us feel alike, I take it no two can have exactly the same idea of God. Your and my idea of God is the measure of our growth, and shows how much we have become. Yet there is something in our idea of God which corresponds to the fact of God. Last Sunday I spoke only of what is in the world of matter,— power, law, mind. I hope now to

give no whim of mine, but only such facts of God as are to be got from human consciousness.

We are conscious of a feeling of dependence, and also an object upon which we depend, which at first is not distinctly understood, only felt, vaguely perceived by the instinctive observation of the religious faculty, the soul, which does not know at first how much is outward divine, and how much is personal soul. But at length by repeated observation and experiment of his mind, using the facts which the soul at first instinctively made known, man comprehends the divine object, knows how it affects his soul, finds out the constant mode of operation thereof, its effects, analyses that vague divine which the soul at first takes notice of, separates it from all else as a distinct divinity, and learns some of the phenomena thereof, and does this by his mind, using the facts which the soul at first made known, and thus at last knows by reflective philosophy what at first he only felt by instinct.

Divide man's spiritual powers into these four, the intellectual, the moral, the affectional, and the religious. Now, each of these begins its action spontaneously, on its own individual account, without our will, forethought, or even foresight. Call that action instinctive, and the faculty thus acting call instinct. This instinct is as various as the faculties themselves, and so there are intellectual, moral, affectional, and religious instincts.

Now, our first spiritual act is a feeling of limitation, and so dependence, a general spiritual act. The first act of the religious faculty is a feeling of somewhat that we depend on, a feeling of God, a special act of the religious faculty. The first act of the intellect,

combined with the religious faculty, is the feeling that God is perfect, adequate to support what depends thereon. Each of these feelings is spontaneous, not caused by will alone; it is the intuition of the instinct, not an hypothesis of imagination, nor induction of reason. As the general spiritual faculty in its first instinctive activity gives us a primal feeling of dependence, and as the special religious faculty gives us its primal insinctive feeling of God, so also, combining therewith, does the intellectual faculty give us instinctively the feeling of God's perfection. In the logic of facts the feeling of God whom we depend upon implies the perfection of that God whom we depend upon, and in the psychology of intellectual consciousness one follows the other, stroke by stroke.

This is a very nice matter, and should not therefore be trusted to the psychological analysis of the private consciousness of a single man, who may easily be mistaken. But is not this the experience of you all? In your present reflective consciousness of God you conceive thereof as complete and perfect, and have a more or less definite idea of what qualities should make up that complete and perfect character. But take the earliest feeling of God that you can remember, and did you not even then feel him to be perfect, though you had no distinct conception of the special qualities which that perfection involved? If you had, it would not content you now; for as the child is less than the man so are the qualities which make up the child's consciousness of God less than what make up the man's consciousness of God. This perfection of God is common to the child's instinctive feeling of God and the man's reflective idea of God.

Starting with this instinctive feeling that God is

perfect, what comes of it? I am conscious of a power in me which is not me; I live and am, but am not the cause of my life and being. In my body I find forces which I do not control; my heart beats, my blood flows; I do not cause it nor regulate it, nor can I prevent it. I breathe without thought; all day while I work, all night while I sleep, a current of air comes in and goes out, fanning the fires which warm my little earthen house; and that red sea of life ebbs and flows in every inlet of my body ten or twenty times a minute. There is a power of life in my body; I did not cause it; it is beyond my power, not subject to my caprice. It is a causal and providential power dwelling in me while I live. I reflect on this power of life in my body beyond my control, and I see it is part of the power of God, which is not only immanent in all the material world without me, but in every particle of my bones and flesh and blood. Now, as the intellectual instinct combining with the religious gave me the consciousness of God as perfect, I develop this idea of power under that category of perfection, and I come at last to this, that God is Infinite Power, Infinite Cause, Infinite Providence. There is no limitation thereof; it is power embodied. No other idea of God will satisfy my instinct or my reflection, for my nature demands the perfection of God.

In the part of me which is not body I find other forces; spiritual faculties, which I do not control, but which control me. Look at these, under each of the four divisions of man's spiritual faculties. First of the mind; I must think, know, believe; but if I think what I will, I know and believe only what I must; I cannot believe that to be true which I know to be false. I

know that one and one are two; I cannot believe it three; I can control my tongue and call it three, my pen and write it three, but not my mind and believe it so. It is mine to think or think not. Here a certain latitude is left to my personal caprice, but the mode of thinking has been laid out for me. I find there are certain laws of mind, constant modes of operation for the thinking force, and they are superior to my personal will; I did not make them, cannot unmake them; they control me, and I have no control over them. That power which I find in my body I find also in my mind; as in my consciousness of body I find a rational world which is not me, so in my mental consciousness I find a mind which is not me, cause and providence to me no doubt. So I conceive of God as power of mind which is wisdom; and as the intellectual and religious instinct gave me the feeling of perfection in God, I develop this idea of God as mind after that category, and I come to this conclusion, that he is complete and perfect Mind; there is no limitation thereof; it is wisdom unbounded, infinite wisdom, knowing what has been, what is, and what will be, complete and perfect power to invent, organize and administer. So God is Infinite Wisdom; no other idea of God will satisfy my mind. Is it not so with each of you? Admit the idea of mental imperfection in the deity, and you reject him at once; he is no more the perfect God to us.

I not only feel a mind in me which is not me, and feel dependent on that perfect and complete mind; but I feel accountable for my own conduct. I not only know things as true or false, fair or foul, useful or useless; but also as right or wrong. I am drawn to certain things as right, repelled from certain things as wrong; I have not only mental consciousness of the

true, the beautiful, and the expedient; but moral consciousness of the right, and the solemn word *I ought* comes to my lips. It is not "I must," the word of necessity; nor "I would," the word of desire; but "I should," "I ought," the word of conscience, which is the motive to do right, and of will, the power to do right. Certain things seem right, and so obligatory on me. This depends not on my personal caprice; I cannot make right wrong, nor wrong right. There is a moral power in me, which is me, the power to know right and do duty; but there is another moral power in me which is more than me, independent of me, which controls my moral consciousness, makes me know right, though it does not constrain my will and make me do right. This is the Higher Law, a statute enacted; and it is also the Higher Law Giver, a perpetual statute in the process of everlasting enactment. Here, then, is another quality of God. He must be moral power, as well as mental; the divine conscience which knows the absolute right, the divine will which commands the absolute right. Reflecting thereon, I develop that idea likewise to its uttermost; and I find that God is complete and perfect moral power, infinite justice, which knows the right, wills right, does right, is right. Nothing short of that infinite justice will satisfy my moral consciousness. A God who is just on all days but two, the day of man's fall from Paradise, and the day of his condemnation into eternal torment, is not the God for my moral consciousness; a God who is just to all save one single baby, whom the council of orthodox ministers at North Woburn is so anxious to damn, is not God enough for my moral consciousness. Can any one of you accept an idea of God who is not infinite justice, to know right, will

right, do right, be right, at all times, in every place, to each man and each worm? Surely, not one!

I find not only a mental and a moral faculty in me, but an affectional faculty also. I stand in diverse relations to men. Some I hate, some I am indifferent to, some I love. I hate these because they offend and do me harm; I revenge the wrong they have done or scare them off from what they would do. It is only through fear, and for self-defence, that I hate my foe,— lion or murderer. I bear no ill-will to the rattlesnake in South Africa, only to the one in my path; and I feel no hatred to the pirate on the outermost ring of the planet Saturn, if pirate there be there. I am indifferent to men who stand in no relation to me, active or passive; they need not me, I need not them. Te Lee lives in Hong To in the Ming district, on the Yellow river in China. His father has bought him a wife. It is nothing to me how long her eyes are, or how obliquely set, or how short her feet. I can do nothing for Te Lee, he can do no more for me than the painted man on a tea-cup. I am indifferent to their marriage lot. But if I hear that my neighbor, Mr. Lovegold, aided by the British government, has grown rich by forcing opium on the Chinese, that the drug has found its way to Hong To, and that Te Lee has fallen a victim to the vice it engendered there, he is no longer indifferent to me. I pity him and his long-eyed wife, whose short feet do not allow her to provide for her newborn baby; I pity the little thing left by the Yellow river to perish, and would help them if I could; and my heart of mercy reaches out to them twelve thousand miles away, while my arm of help cannot reach a yard.

I love such as come into pleasant relations with me; some I depend on for service or guidance, others depend on me. So I love them in various degrees. Others I regard for no service given or taken, drawn towards them by affectional gravitation, and those I love with great outgoings of the heart, which has also thence its great income. Love is not merely grateful to repay or helpful to get. It

"wanders at its own sweet will,"

and must go where it sends itself. As my power of affection enlarges, I love more men, each with a larger quantity and nicer quality of love. As a baby I love my mother, father, and nurse; then relatives and schoolmates; when a man I include my town, nation, Christendom, perhaps mankind. By and by my love runs over to wicked men, to the heathen and savage slave-trader in Africa, and to the Christian civilized slave-trader in South Carolina. When I am great-hearted enough, and fully grown in affection, I turn round and love my enemies, revengeful wrath giving place to benevolent mercy; and I feed the man who once sought to murder me. My wrath and power of hate was only given me for self-defence, and when I need it not it goes to sleep. So I have a new element which must enter into my conception of God. He must be affectionate; the God of power, wisdom, justice, must be likewise a God of love. I develop this idea of divine affection. Can God hate me? He has no need to hate. I would not harm him if I could, and I could not if I would. He is almighty, and I have but little power. His almightiness is infinitely near, to help me; my weakness is infinitely far off from troubling God. He has no motive to hate me, to hate

the worst of men; for the worst of men is either a mad man or a fool, and could God hate either a lunatic or an idiot? The thought is blasphemy! If God cannot hate any, can he be indifferent to any? Certainly not. I may be indifferent to men who stand in no relation to me, but God is related to all; his infinite presence fills and surrounds all; as Infinite Cause he creates all; as Infinite Providence works with all, in all. What power I have is derived straightway from God, and I derive my very existence this moment, and all moments, from him. I am weak, he made me so. I depend on him, he gives me the faculty whereby I recognize my dependence. He cannot be indifferent to me. It is plain from his nature that he must love me and desire my welfare. I may be the ablest or the feeblest-minded man, the best or the wickedest, still he must love me and wish my welfare; for neither the weakness of my nature nor the wickedness of my life can change the character of God or change his disposition, any more than a fly on Neptune's farthest moon could arouse my feeble spite. Nothing can change his affection.

I develop the affectional element of my idea of God; I lay aside all the personal limitations which make me indifferent to Te Lee, and wrathful against a lion or a murderer, all human limitations which set bounds to man's love for man; and I find that God must be complete and perfect affection, infinite affection, that he must regard me with all his infinite power of love, and not me alone, but every *me* that is or was or ever shall be; he must love each with all his energy and power. Will any other idea of God satisfy your affection? If he should hate only one out of ten hundred millions, he would not be the perfect God of love, and you could

not have faith in him. Could you ask God to hate and damn your worst enemies? No man could do it. It is only perfect love in God which satisfies this human heart of hearts.

Now, take the several elements of the divine which we gather from human consciousness — infinite power, infinite wisdom, infinite justice, infinite love — and put them into one being, and call that being Infinite God. I am as certain of his existence as of my own; every fact of my consciousness involves the existence of God. Am I conscious of myself as a fact, a deed done? That consciousness at once takes me back to the providential cause of this deed done. Am I conscious of myself as a factor, a deed doing? That consciousness takes me back to causal providence, which is power, wisdom, justice, love, the Infinite Doer, whose power is in me as well as about me. I study the facts of observation in the world of matter, and I find power, law, mind, ever present in every part of space. Shall I say God is matter? Nay, I know not the essence of matter, only its phenomena and some of its properties; and the properties of matter are not God. I know no matter but body, and material body has the limit of space, with its here and there, while Infinite God must transcend space and be everywhere. Matter may be an attribute of God, eternal as God, its essence coessential with God; but matter is not God.

Shall I say that God is spirit? I know not the essence of spirit, only its properties and phenomena; and the properties of spirit are not God. I know no spirit but the human spirit, and that has the limit of time, with its now and then; and Infinite God must transcend time and space, and be everywhere as ever here. Human spirit is limited in power, wisdom, justice, love,

while God is not only infinitely present in time and space, every then is now to him, and every there to him an eternal here; and he is also infinite power, wisdom, justice, and love. So I do not conceive of God as the materiality of impersonal matter, or as the spirituality of personal man; but as that substantiality which underlies the essence of matter and spirit, occupies both, every point of each, and at the same time transcends all.

Is there an outward fact which corresponds to God? If I can trust my own consciousness, it must be so; for I am as certain of God as of my own consciousness. The eye is not more cognizant of light, nor the mind more cognizant of truth, than in my whole consciousness I am cognizant of God. Am I sure that God corresponds to my idea of him? He is the perfect being, the infinite being; and it is only primary qualities of infinite perfection that I have ascribed to him. If I attribute to God any imperfection, any lack of justice, power, wisdom, love, then that comes of my consciousness, not God's character; it is my finite dream of God's infinite fact. Infinite perfection as an idea in me has its cause as fact in the world about me and the world within me, and any imperfection must be in my conception of God, not in him. My character is the measure of my power to conceive of him, it is not the measure of God's fact, only my idea of God's fact. The boy's God is not the God of the man. A larger mind, conscience, heart, and soul recognizes other qualities of the Infinite. The higher I go up on my finite mountain of human privilege, the more I shall see of that infinite divinity which folds it continually in light and shade.

Such are the proofs of God which I find in my pri-

vate consciousness, in the metaphysicians' psychological way. With this experience, and its resulting Infinite God, I go to my nation or mankind, and with the naturalist's method I look over human history; and I find facts of observation to match my facts of consciousness, for mankind does in large what I do in little, and has also the feeling of God's perfection, and struggles for an idea which shall combine all the elements of perfection, none of imperfection. So every people has its idea of God, which is the result of its history and the measure of its civilization. With the wild man and the savage, this idea is very rude. Then it becomes more elevated, then more. First, mere force contents man in his God; then a little mind is added; then more, and more yet; then justice is put there, then love.

Mankind continually revises its idea of God, because it has the feeling that God is perfection; and as it develops the feeling into an idea, the new result must be added to the divine being. Successively does Israel leave behind him the gods of Laban which Rachel stole, the gods of Egypt, the gold calf which Aaron made, the Canaanite and Philistine gods, and worships Jehovah, who loved Jacob and hated Esau. By and by he transcends that idea of God, and worships one who loves Jacob and Esau, too. So the Unitarian and the Universalist leave behind the trinity, that Cerberus of God, growling forever round his endless hell, and mankind fares on, asking for higher and higher ideas of God.

I put it to you, individually, and I put it at this minute to the Jew, Gentile, Christian, Mohametan, to all thoughtful mankind, Will anything content you less than the Infinite God, of perfect power, perfect wis-

dom, perfect justice, perfect love? And in all the tongues of earth does mankind answer, No!

Yea, with great groanings which cannot be uttered, the ten hundred millions of mankind cry out, "Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us! Give us the infinite perfection of God! Sure of that, of all else are we likewise sure." In our own consciousness lies the evidence. To boy or savage the childish instinct gives a vague divine, but manly thought to manly men demonstrates the perfect God.

To this high end the Bibles of all the nations have helped, writ in many a tongue — Vedas, Classics, Zendavestas, Old Testament, New Testament, Koran; nay, the idols help which Rachel stole, and the Canaanites or Philistines set up. The great philosophers have also helped mankind to an appreciation of the true idea of God; those who wrote out the principles of nature, the mechanics of the sky, or revealed the wonders long hidden in a bit of stone; they whose microscopic study is the human mind or whose telescope sweeps the whole sphere of man's past history, they who give us the metaphysical principles of human nature and write the celestial mechanics of man's development; they, too, who break in pieces the idols men have created, who destroy man's superstitious reverence for the Bibles of the nations, even they who mock at the hideous ugliness of the popular theology's idea of God. All these have helped mankind to the comprehension of the dear God who is infinite power, wisdom, justice, love and holiness, infinite cause and providence, father and mother to every worm, to every child, to Jesus who speaks the world's great truth, to Peter who denied him, to Iscariot who betrayed, and

to those other Peters and Iscariots who still crucify him afresh and put him to open shame.

The world of matter is witness to God. With one loud voice the flowers below and the stars above proclaim to us power, wisdom, law. This little rose, in its cloth of gold, whispers to us benevolence; yonder sun whispers benevolence. But the world of spirit, the world of consciousness, tells us not only of power, law, mind, but of justice also, and of love. Matter gives us a God immense of power, law, thought; and mind gives us the Infinite God of justice likewise, and of love.

"Here rest we,
Nor need, nor can we any farther go."

4

GOD IN THE RELATION BETWEEN MATTER AND MAN

Thou hast ordered all things by number, and measure, and weight.— Wisdom of Solomon, xi, 20.

I ask your attention to some thoughts on the evidences of God which are found in the relation between the world of matter and the world of man. The conclusion reached in the two preceding sermons was the evidence of a being who is infinite perfection; having the perfection of existence, which is self-existence,— absolute, eternal being; the perfection of power, which is almightiness; the perfection of mind, which is all-knowingness; the perfection of conscience, which is all-righteousness; the perfection of the heart, which is all-lovingness; the perfection of the soul, which is all-holiness; God immanent in matter and in man, and yet transcending alike matter and man, and the idea that man forms of him.

Now, the infinite God must be perfect in his creation and in his providence. That is to say, his motive must be perfect, a desire to bless; the universe, which is his work, must be a perfect manifestation of that motive. So far as the universe, at any one time, is a means to an end, an instrumentality of mediation, it must be the most perfect of all conceivable means; and so far as the universe at any one time is an end, a finality of purpose, it must be a perfect end. Of all conceivable ends it must be the best possible, a perfect realization of the desire to bless. This must be true of the universe taken as a whole, true of each of the two

great parts thereof, the world of matter and the world of man, and true also of the relation between them.

The infinite perfection of God cannot be inductively proved by a study of the facts of observation in the world of matter, for there is but small part of this world of matter which we know, and a small part which we thoroughly comprehend; and beside, if we knew it all, and comprehended it all, as that is finite, we could not thus induce the infinite perfection of its cause and its providence. But in the world of man, by an intuition of our own spirit, and as a fact of consciousness, do we find that infinite perfection, which is first an instinctive feeling, as I think, involved in the innermost fact of religious consciousness, but at length a philosophical idea, developed out of the substance of that instinctive feeling which involved it. So it not only is, at last, a demonstration of reflective science, but likewise at first an intuition of spontaneous instinct. As that is so, so the perfection of the universe, of its two parts, and of their mutual relation, cannot be inductively proved by the study of facts of observation in matter, or of consciousness in man, because as yet we know but little of the universe, and comprehend that little but poorly, and are still more embarrassed by lack of knowledge and comprehension when we come to study the relation between the two; and therefore we must deduce the perfection of the universe from the perfection of its author; for it is not possible that an infinitely perfect God should make a world which was not the best possible of all worlds which are conceivable.

Accordingly, starting from the infinite perfection of God, who must desire the best of all possible things, must know the best of possible things, must will the

best of possible things, and must accomplish the best of possible things, at the last, this deduction follows: The world of matter in its nature must be perfect; that is, it must have come from a perfect motive, a desire to bless in the highest degree; it must be a perfect means adequate to its purpose, and also it must be a perfect end, a realization of that desire to bless. In the same way it follows that the world of man in its nature must be likewise perfect, in the benevolence of its motive, the adequacy of its means, the success of its end. And this is true likewise of the relation between the world of matter and the world of man; that relation must likewise be perfect in its motive, perfect as a means, and perfect likewise as an end. This conclusion of the perfection of the universe is a transcendent truth, not dependent on your observation or mine, not to be disturbed by any facts which seem to contradict it; but it is deduced straightway from the idea of the infinite perfection of God which is given in our consciousness. And after we have attained the knowledge of God as infinite perfection, either by instinct, as many, or by reflective demonstration, as a few, then we are so sure of its transcendent truth, that if we find any facts which seem to conflict therewith, we doubt if we have understood them aright, our knowledge of God's infinite perfection being so much more certain than our comprehension of famine, storm, earthquake, pestilence, and other seeming evils. This conclusion of the perfection of the universe follows directly from the perfection of God, and it will be admitted by every thoughtful man who has mind enough to comprehend it, excepting those who have gone astray through education in that vicious theology wherein most men, if not born, are at least bred.

But certain as is this perfection of the universe thus deduced, I do not like to rest the relation between the world of matter and of man on this deductive and transcendent truth; for we want not only to know that this relation is perfect, but to know how it is perfect. So in what follows I shall neglect that transcendent deductive conclusion altogether, and look directly at facts as they are, and see what character of God they point to and hint at.

The universe is the revelation of God in matter, as our idea of him is the revelation of God in human consciousness. In this way I asked you to look at the world of matter and the world of man, each by itself. Now let us look at the two in their mutual relation.

Man is of two parts, matter and spirit; he is an animal and also an animal and something more. Now, as an animate body, he stands in a material relation to the world of matter; and as a human spirit he stands in a spiritual relation to the world of matter. For convenience, I will divide this sermon into two, and speak first of the world of matter as related to man's body, and hereafter of the world of matter as related to man's spirit. To make all clear, let us divide this cosmic universe, the world of matter, into two parts—the astronomic world, which is all the universe, except this earth, and the telluric world, which is the earth itself. Look first at the relation of man's body to the astronomic world.

The earth is one of many bodies,— sun, planets, moons, comets, which make up the solar system; that is one of many solar systems, which make up the astral system; and that one of many astral systems which make up the astronomic system, the whole universe of matter. Now of the solar system we have much exact

and certain knowledge; of the astral system, less; and of the astronomic system, our knowledge is chiefly deductive, by mathematics, or inferential, by imagination; but in all parts of the astronomic world, great or little, so far as we have gone, we find power, law, mind. But as its immediate influence on our bodies is so slight, I shall pass over its relation thereto, and look now only at that part of it which we call the solar system.

Our body stands in constant relation to that. For most things, we depend upon the earth; but for two, light and heat, we look elsewhere. Our heat comes from the sun wholly, with the exception of what we gather from the earth's central fire. The sun and moon afford us almost all our light, and as what she gives is borrowed from him, I shall set her contribution down to his account. Man cannot live without this solar light and heat. See the arrangement by which the two are furnished him, and in their present proportions. A planet revolving about the sun in an elliptical orbit, and rotating on its own axis, draws other bodies to itself, with an attraction which diminishes as the square of the distance increases; so at a certain distance on its outer or inner side the attraction of a planet ends, and that of some other body begins. So each planet has what may be called its attractional orbit. I mean a certain ring of space on each side of its track through the sky, where its influence prevails over other planets. The relation between the width of the planet's attractional orbit, and the time of that plane's rotation around its axis is uniform throughout the solar system. The square of the number of days in a planet's year always bears the same proportion to the cube of its attractional orbit's diameter. This

applies to the earth; the width of its attractional orbit not only determines the length of its year, but determines the number of times it shall turn round, and the number of days and nights it shall have in a year; and on these two facts, the earth's distance from the sun, and the length of day and night, depend the quantity of light and heat which we receive, and likewise the distribution of daylight and dark.

Now there is an exact harmony between man's body and the amount of heat and light received by the earth in its present position. If the size of the earth's orbit were much changed, that harmony would be broken up. If it had the width of one of the exterior planets, say Jupiter, we should perish from lack of light and heat; if it had the narrowness of one of the interior planets, say Venus, we should perish from excess of light and heat. So, if the size remained the same, and the shape were altered, we should be equally ruined. If its orbit were like a comet's, the earth now near the sun, and then removed to a great distance, the extremes of heat and cold would destroy our life. The same is true with regard to the harmony between's man's body and the diurnal change of light and darkness. If the earth revolved twice in twenty-four hours, man would perish through the swift return of day and night. If but once in forty-eight hours, he would perish by the tardiness of their return. Nor is that all. The weight of our bodies and the strength of our bone and muscle depend on the earth's attraction, and that is affected by the swiftness of its rotation. If it turned twice on its axis in twenty-four hours, our bodies would be unwieldly through lightness, and the air so thin we could not live by breathing it; if it revolved but once in forty-eight hours, our bodies would be so

unwieldly heavy, that we could hardly creep; no mother could hold her baby; our flesh would break our bones; and the air would become so dense that we could not breathe it in. Man's body stands in perfectly harmonious relation with the annual quantity of heat and light, with its distribution in summer and winter, with the swift rotation of the earth and the moon, with the earth's attractive force which holds him down, and with the thickness of the air he breathes and lives upon; and all these things and this harmonious relation depend directly on the swiftness of the earth's rotation, and that on the width of her attractional orbit, that on the balance of forces between the earth and Mercury, Venus, Mars, Saturn, Herschel, Neptune, Jupiter; it depends on the structural character of the whole solar system which was fixed millions of millions of years before man ever trod the globe. The ease and grace with which a dancer whirls or a child runs and leaps or a man walks, the healthy condition of your eye, rejoicing in the light, the vitality of every breath you draw, depend thus intimately on the structural character of the solar system; our existence is involved in the width of the attractional orbit of the earth, and that is so intimately woven up with the whole solar system that they all work together to support our little life. So much for the relation of man's body to the astronomic world.

Now, see some facts in the relation of man's body to the telluric world. For all beside heat and light we depend on the earth alone. The solid earth is robed in an invisible atmosphere, which has remarkable properties, and remarkable functions to fulfil. First, it

lets in the solar and astral light which, falling perpendicularly, white-robed, goes straightway to its calorific and actinic work,[9] or, falling at an angle, it lingers by the way, and robes the earth in its morning and evening magnificence. Then this air lets in the sun's heat, and prevents the earth's from escaping, and so it is a mantle wrapped about the shoulders of the world to keep it warm. It thus helps to furnish these two conditions for the existence of vegetation and animation, heat and light. It also directly supplies the breath by which all plants grow and all animals live, for with their little mouths always dumb in the vegetable world, and sometimes voiceless in the animals, do both suck the breasts of heaven, and take in the means of life. Besides it carries sound to the ear of man, and attractive or repulsive odors to the sense of smell, here guiding to his bliss, there warning from his bane. Heat, light, breath, sound, smell, are indispensable to the human kind; and for all these five we depend upon air, which is perfectly suited to perform the fivefold function. Air is chemically composed of seventy-six per cent. of nitrogen, twenty-three per cent. of oxygen, one per cent. of aqueous vapor, and there is a little touch of carbonic acid. Now, of the sixty elements[10] that make up the earth there are no other four that could perform this fivefold function which the air is given to perform, and there is no other combination of these four elements which could perform it.

Man depends on the earth for four other needed things — food; shelter against the elements and wild beasts, consisting of a fixed covering,— call it a house, and a movable covering,— call it a garment; medicine, to heal him when he is sick or wounded; and tools wherewith to procure him food, shelter and healing

medicine. See man's relation to the earth in respect of these four things.

The earth, world of matter, is composed of three parts; the inorganic, which let us call the mineral world, the vegetable, and the animal. The mineral elements are the food of vegetables, vegetables the food of animals, and both animals and vegetables the food of man. There is such a sympathy between man and the elements about him that his food comes spontaneously by nature, or else may be produced by human art and time in every place where the conditions of air, light, heat and moisture make it possible for man to dwell. From the earth, then, man derives his food; but the general power of the earth to produce food depends on the structural character of the globe, the distribution of its water, land, air, heat, light, the electricity therein, and on the chemical character of the soil. The mineral matter must be there as food for vegetation; plants must assimilate that mineral matter, and therefore must have the requisite conditions of heat, light, and electricity; animals must appropriate the plants and furnish food for man. Mankind cannot live by vegetable matter alone, for though here and there a single individual may do so, nor suffer much, when you try the experiment with a people, generation after generation, that people dwindles and at length will perish. So strike the beasts out of existence and man will die. Human life rides on the beastly back, the animal lives on the plant, the plant on the mineral, and that depends on the great telluric chemistry by which the elements are mixed on so large a scale; and so this flesh and these bones of ours are intimately connected with the physical geography of the earth and the chemical structure of the great globe

itself. Were these conditions otherwise man could not live or be created.

That is not all. Man lives by food, which must perform two functions. Partly it turns to blood, and helps build up the tissues of the body and repair their daily waste; let me call this the nitrogenic part. Partly our food turns to fuel, and keeps up the vital warmth; this call the carbonic part. Each day it takes some eleven ounces of charcoal to keep this human engine fired up with active life. Now in high latitudes, the air about us is much colder than our bodies, and we need more food for fuel than in hot climates, where the air is more nearly of the temperature of the body. Now the human food which cold climates produce, both vegetable and animal, what comes spontaneously, and what is won by toil, contains more carbon than the food of hot tropical lands. The natural appetite of man follows the same rule; in arctic cold man desires fat, flesh and vegetable oils, while in tropic climates he favors nitrogenic food, and the date, the palm, and the plantain supply his desires. In Greenland the Esquimaux feeds on the seal, which furnishes the fat his appetite relishes, the train oil which his frozen body needs. In Bengal the Hindoo feeds through preference on rice, which contains less oil than any other grain which grows, and which he in his tropic climate does not need. Now Greenland bears the seal as naturally as India does rice; each depends on the climate, that on the shape and inclination of the earth, those on the general structure of the solar system. Alter the relations a little, let seals abound in India, and rice and similar food be wanting, man would dwindle, and in a few generations die out; or, from Greenland take the seals and let rice abound,

mankind's life would presently cease there; but the very structure of the earth, the chemistry of its soil, the temperature of its air and water, the amount of electricity and light, require seals in Greenland and rice in India. The fat dinner of the Esquimaux and the Hindoo's thin vegetable diet alike depend on the astronomic relation of the earth to the solar system. In this way the relation is fixed between man's body and the food he feeds on.

Man wants shelter, a fixed house, and a movable garment. For the wild man there are holes in the slaty, the granitic or the limestone rock, and there are trees, whose shadow protects him from heat and great trunks from cold, and whose branches afford him a resting place safe from the tiger and the wolf; and therein the New Guinea mother, with her baby in her arms, roosts throughout the night; no New England crow can house him better in our northern pine. When our wild man has got a little advanced and become a savage, he digs him a burrow in the earth, and his child is born in a grave; the hospitable earth being a cradle for new life, and not less a tomb for age and death; or with sticks builds him a wigwam, hut, or kraal. Out of the clay pit, the forest, the mountain, the marble quarry, or the mine, enlightened man builds him his house or palace, comfortable for use, elegant for beauty. But the hole in the rock which the wild man finds, the ground which he digs, depends on the geological structure of the globe; the hollow tree which took the old Sicilian in, the breadth of the boughs which hold the New Guinea mother up, depend on the law of vegetation whereby the trunk grows and the branches spread. And so the wood, brick, stone, mar-

ble or iron, which the enlightened man uses for his dwelling, depend on the very structure of the earth, its central heat and its position in the solar system, with such an attractional orbit, and such a rotation, day by day.

So it is with the movable house which clothes our limbs. The wild man went naked as a worm. As soon as he needed nature offered him clothes, the vegetable its leaves, the animal its skin or fur. Look at this clothed congregation, and see whence all this vast array of handsome dress has been gathered up! Part of it came from the backs of fur-clad, arctic beasts, which only polar cold can bear; the linen grew up from the cool temperate soil; tropic heat furnished the cotton; and the little silk-worm has spun the substance of appropriate trees, which change their leaves to covering for the Adams and Eves of civilization. Various colors, which more than imitate the rainbow, have been gathered from the mineral, vegetable and animal worlds; and all these depend directly on the structural character of the globe itself. As the rainbow is the child of the sun and cloud, nursed by lightning, waited on by gravitation, and girted into handsome shape by the spheric globe itself, so yonder bonnet, the triumph of the milliner's art and the wearer's taste, is daughter of vegetation and animation, grand-child of the mineral world, which dowers it with such handsome hues, and in strict geologic descent, traces its aristocratic lineage back to the earth's attractional orbit, and the constitution of the solar system. A little change in that far-off ancestry, and there could not be a bonnet in Boston to-day, more than a woman to wear it, or a young man to look delighted on.

Man wants medicine to heal what ails. Look at this

need. The earth bears things fit for food and shelter, but also things unfit for either use. Man is finite and yet progressive; his development is by experience, and in that he may err, making mistake by the instinctive and spontaneous action of his faculties, or still more by his voluntary act; he may dwell in places not fit for health, feed on food not meant for him; he wanders more than any other animal, and encounters more peril, feeds on more various food, experiments in all directions, and is constantly running into difficulty; so more than all other animals is he exposed to causes which would destroy the individual or the race. But on the other hand, to balance this dangerous peculiarity, more than all other animals he has power to accommodate himself to circumstances. If his mind is the most curious, his will the most obstinate and aggressive, and accordingly his body the most venturesome on earth, and so exposed to danger, yet his body is of all others most pliant. He can live in the equator of heat, and at the poles. Yet spite of this, so venturesome is he, man overleaps the bound, and more than any other animal is obnoxious to disease. Now against this there is a strange provision. Man, I think, is the only medicating animal. They tell stories of the toad, who furnishes himself with medicine for his bodily ills; I fear this is the poet's fiction, not the naturalist's fact.

So provision is made for medicine. There are various poisons,— animal, vegetable and mineral, which are not food, but medicine. This quickens the action of the digestive powers, that retards it. One irritates the stomach or skin, the other quickens the action of the nerves. In the juice of the grape, the apple, of every fruit, in the hollow of the southern cane, in the seed

of every cereal grass which grows between the equinoctial and the arctic line, there is a substance whence a fiery liquor can be made, of wondrous medicative power. In the bulb which holds the poppy's seed there is a sovereign balm, which takes away the smart of the wound and laps the sufferer in elysian dreams; and in a little mineral there is a precious power to steal away the sense of pain and make the flesh senseless as wood to the surgeon's medicative hand. The relation between these things and the sick body is just as nice as that between man's flesh and his food and shelter. So a margin of oscillation is left for man's body, and if it swing away too far, such is its power of accommodation it is not lost, and swings back; there is a power of medication in the world of matter to carry it back if it swings too far beyond the line of oscillation. Now, all these medicines, like man's food and shelter, depend on the constitution of the earth. They are intimately connected with its place in the solar system. A change of the diameter of the earth's attractional orbit, and all these things would cease to be.

Then, man needs tools. At first, his only instrument is his body; his hand to grasp his food, his teeth to grind it. With these he begins his warfare against matter; but the world of matter furnishes him with weapons against itself. A stone is a harder fist, a stick is a longer arm, a horse is swifter legs. To the wild man the savage barbarian is civilized. The world of matter furnishes tools to procure for man food, shelter, medicine. There are beasts to till the field, tread the grain, turn the mill, and to furnish food,— milk for babes, meat for men. There are beasts to tend the flocks, the house; to carry burdens, slow, as the

ox and the ass; swift, as the dromedary, the horse, the carrier dove. There are animals to spin the silken thread. The sheep lends man his parchment, the goose his pen. There is fire, and the school of metals, which he masters and trains to work. There is glass to arm the sight for science's telescopic research or microscopic observation. There are winds which turn man's mill and winnow his grain; there is water, a road when still, when moving, spinner, miller, sawyer, weaver, joiner, smith. There is steam to carry man's burdens; lightning to bear his thought. All these tools, from the chip of stone to the electric telegraph, depend on the structural character of the earth. Take away wood, iron, the ox, and the horse, how different were human history! An earth can be conceived that should not bear a single tool for man; his fist could not be hardened, nor his arm lengthened. And what would man then be? Only a wild man; for the tool is the lever by which man takes a pry, as it were, over one part of matter, and lifts up the other, and makes it serve him.

Study the world of matter, and there are many things whose use we know not now. Study man's body, and it has not a material need but what is wanted, is waiting there for him. It is so with the primitive wild man, who needs but food and shelter; so with the philosopher in London or Paris, who wants the microscope, telescope, bridges, railroads, electric telegraphs, balloons to sail the sky, a Great Eastern [11] to fly upon the sea. It is so with the barbarian, the civilized, and all the way between. How things are related together in this great cosmic world! The astronomic system is nest for each astral system, the astral for the solar system, that for the earth. Here

mineral matter is nest for vegetation, both for animation, all three are needed nest for man. There is air for his lungs, food for his stomach, light for his eye, heat for his body, sheltering house and dress, each for use, and beauty too; tools for his hand, a wonderful array of them, from the wild man's artificial fist of stone up to the great Leviathan, which, with winged speed, takes the wealth of an island and bears it across the sea; aye, to the electric fire which sends its certain word under the sea from London to New Orleans and back again,[12] "ere that Leviathan can swim a league."

All these four things,— food, shelter, medicine, and tools, are to be had by thought and toil, the only money taken at God's great counter of the world. But man's muscle requires the toil, man's mind demands the thought; he needs toil and thought to discipline his own body and mind, he needs them also for what they bring, and God has established a most perfect relation between the thought and toil which man needs, and the needed things which they, and they alone, produce. In cold lands man needs more work of thought and toil than in warmer regions, and more of both is required to produce the things his body needs for food, shelter, medicine, and tools.

So far, then, we have perfect harmony in the relation between matter and man. But there are disturbing elements in the world. In the world of animation there are aggressive beasts, from the invading lion to the parasite and vermin, which invade man's home and body and prey on him; in the vegetable world, there are poisons that destroy human limb and life; in the world of inorganic matter there are storms, hurricanes, lightning, thunder, pestilence that rides on the air, death

following behind; there are tempests on the water which drown the sailor, deluges which flood the landsman's field and house. Poison metals are in the mine; the great central fire of the earth breaks out in a volcano or earthquake, which desolates whole provinces; sickness and death untimely show that man and his circumstances do not always fit. All animals are mortal, man most of all. But such is the preponderant weight of the perfect adaptation of matter and man, that where there seems to be a break, the analogy of the whole would force us to conclude that we do not comprehend that special part wherein that fitness seems to fail.

And the fact that there is pain in the world of man, which, while it serves the race, has no compensating benefit for the sufferer here, is a clear indication that pain has another function for the part of man which is not material, but spiritual. It points to a hereafter, and one for beasts, not less than man; for as here on earth man's body seems to have been brought to its present condition, and made the fitting habitation for a master mind by many transmigrations through inferior beasts, which keep him company still and attend his march, so, I doubt not, it will be in that other world; and you and I may think, like the Indian, that

> "Admitted to that equal sky
> Our faithful dog shall bear us company."

Take mankind as a whole, the world of matter as a whole, their relation is perfect in all we understand. Nature to man is a perfect nest, and we cannot conceive of a world of matter that should fit man better in any particular, and that in all stages of his existence, from primitive wildness up to the culture of to-day.

Do not think man alone is looked after by the world of matter. Nature is mother to every child, and not a stepdame to anyone; every animal — vertebrate, mollusk, articulate, radiate — is placed not only in the same harmonious relation to the world of matter, but is just as much an object of protection as imperial man. The oyster has his little nest of conditions and circumstances which is just as adequate for him as this vast telluric, solar, astral, astronomic world which fits the physical and spiritual frame of man.

Put all these things together, and what character of God do you thence induce? Everywhere do you find power, law, mind; and benevolence is so predominate that you believe it to exist where you cannot perceive it. And when ghastly facts like the storm, earthquake, pestilence or famine stand before you, you say, "Surely this has a meaning which we do not know." And when you come to study these apparent evils and their relation to the earth and man, just as you understand that, you find they also are serviceable to the human race and could not be dispensed with; and what the individual suffers uncompensated here he shall find his account for elsewhere at a future time.

See on how vast a scale this mind has planned in time and space. This room is eighty-five feet wide. It would take five hundred thousand rooms like this to reach across the centre of the earth, and twenty-four thousand of the earth's diameter to reach across her orbit. If Neptune be the farthest planet from the sun, it would take more than thirty diameters of the earth's orbit to reach across the solar system from side to side. Such immense distances we do not easily grasp; but if a railroad engine travelled one hundred

miles an hour, it would take more than five hundred years to travel that space. And that vast space is nothing to the distance to the nearest star, which is more than nineteen million millions of miles away; and that distance is a dot compared to the distance of the remotest nebula.

You and I are related to the earth, which is our nest. The mind which fashioned it made room for you and me therein. The earth is related to the solar system, so mighty wide. The mind which planned that made room for the earth. The solar system is related to the astral system, whereof Sirius is our next neighbor. The mind which planned that system made room for the solar system, for unity of plan runs through the astronomic system of the universe, and appears in every part; in the vast conception of the universe of space, through the astral system, the solar system, and the earth itself, its water and land, its power of motion, vegetation, animation; and then man, who stands in such intimate relation with it all that were the solar system other than it is man could not be. Thus far off in space did the divine mind, using the power of matter, by a constant mode of operation, work for this beneficial result.

My little sermon lasts an hour. The average age of this audience is perhaps some forty years; perhaps the human race has been on the earth a thousand times as long.[13] Well, forty thousand years is not so large a proportion of this earth's existence as my hour's sermon is of mankind's existence. But, as Sirius is far from the earth in space, so far from you and me in time is the beginning of the material history of the earth, which the geologist finds written in the sacred codex of the world — the Old Testament of God, writ-

ten by him in tables of real stone. Yet, in that far time, many millions of millions of years away, was mind controlling the power of matter, by a constant mode of operation to this end, to man,— and his relation to matter was provided then. The size and shape of the earth's attractional orbit was then fixed; the time of day and night, the constitution of the air, which lets the solar heat and light come in; the provision for food, shelter, medicine and tools, was all so fixed that it was sure to come, each in its proper time, — the stone fist for the wild man, and for the enlightened the electric telegraph which runs beneath the sea.

In all that space and time there is no cessation of power, law, mind, whereof its records tell; God immanent always, not once withdrawn. And in that mighty space, that immense of time, there is not the record of a single miracle or departure from law. God, ever present, never intervenes; acting ever by law a miracle becomes needless, and also impossible. Look at all this in its vast greatness in time and space, then consider the delicacy of that providence, and see how nicely the eye is fitted to light; and how this mighty space and this immense time are so with delicacy filled up; and then, if it is power, law, mind, which moves our astonishment at first, the deeper second thought is the love which animates that mind to use that power, and by that law achieve the blessing which the motive of God at first desired — the blessing for you and me and every living thing. Forego that transcendent truth of the perfection of the relation of matter and man, which I deduce from the idea of God as infinite perfection, and the very fact of that relation leads us to infer, not only power, law, mind, but

that dear love which sends the sun so sweetly round the world —

> "From seeing evil still educing good,
> And better thence again, in infinite progression."

5

THE WORLD OF MATTER AND THE SPIRIT OF MAN

For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures proportionably the maker of them is seen.— Wisdom of Solomon, xiv, 5.

Last Sunday we looked at the relation of the world of matter to man's body, and the evidences of God's character contained in that relation. Let us look now at the relation of the world of matter to man's spirit, which like his body is closely related thereto. Look first at some of the facts of this spiritual relation, and to understand the matter clearly, divide man's faculties into these four — the intellectual, the moral, the affectional, and the religious, and see how the world of matter stands related to each.

Man depends on the telluric world for food, for shelter — including house, garment, warmth, ornament,— for medicine, and for tools. These do not come to him spontaneously, with no effort of his, as do light, heat, breath, sound, smell, which the air of its own accord provides for him. They depend on the exercise of man's volitional powers, on work, which is of two parts, toil and thought, both of which are necessary to man's bodily life. There must be art, which is the use of means for an end; and science, which is the knowledge of principles, of universal laws. Toil, tending to art, thought, producing science, are indispensable to man's progress, or even his welfare; without some humble form of both it is not possible for man to possess a tool, medicine, shelter, or even food. Now while the world of matter is fashioned so that it

furnishes man what he needs on these conditions, the nature of man is such that his thinking faculty grows stronger by every natural thought, and his power of work increases by all natural toil. Here man differs from the beasts. I will not say that he differs altogether in his spiritual faculty from the beasts, for as I cannot explain the facts of consciousness which I feel in me on the supposition that I am nothing but bones, brains, nerves, blood and the like, no more can I explain the facts of observation which I see in the horse, the dog, the elephant, or the crow, on the supposition that these creatures are merely blood, bones, nerves, and brains; but they differ from man in this, that they are stationary in power of toil and thought; the last can work no more and enjoy no more than the first; while you and I are progressive in our toil and thought, and in the enjoyment that we find in the art and science that come from both.

See how man by toil and thought grows up. First the wild man lives on what spontaneous nature allows him, the fruits which grow over his head, the roots which grow under his feet, and what the waters offer of their own accord; but he must learn where these things can be found, and that demands observation, attention, memory, and travel from place to place. He must seek refuge from the storm, or hide him from the great beasts which would else devour him; and to do this he must think a little. Instinctive hunger compels the elemental thought; even the wild man must have a little wisdom to season his food; he makes his poor wild mind serve his body, and by doing this age after age, he grows up to a higher stage of development. Then, next, the savage man, which he has grown up to, is a hunter; he does not wait for nature to pro-

vide for him, he goes out and runs down his own prey, and though the lion, the tiger, the anaconda, and the bear are more than a match for his brute body, the bull stronger, and the deer swifter than he, yet, under the tutelage of hunger and fear, he studies in the primary school of nature, where his lesson is only to gather what this school dame spontaneously throws down for him. At length he graduates thence, and goes on to higher lessons, and runs out to catch what nature sets on foot before him. The knowledge he gains is power to trap the bull never so strong, to catch the deer never so swift; no bird is too airy in its flight, no fish too slippery in its ooze, for him to catch and hold; and, armed with bow and arrow, he is soon master of the tiger, the lion, the anaconda, and the bear. By this form of toil and thought he grows up higher still; our savage becomes a barbarian, and cultivates the ground, no longer waiting for nature's spontaneous and too uncertain bread; no longer a mere hunter feeding on what he catches in the woods, he tames and domesticates the animals, who serve him with their flesh, fleece, skin, watchfulness, speed and strength. The barbarian has become a herdsman and farmer. But his work must be in thought as well as toil, not only an art but a science; and so by the discipline of this great polytechnic institution of the material world he grows up higher and higher to the successive stages of half civilized, civilized, enlightened, and so on. Now, man's ability to pass from that state of primitive wildness in which he was cradled, and ascend to the enlightened condition of New England to-day, depends on the fact that there is a harmonious relation between man's mind and the world of matter. Material nature is so adapted to the necessity of the wild man that he has food and shelter

only on condition of toil and thought; and the amount of toil and thought requisite to secure him food and shelter is, in all climes save the arctic, just enough to develop his body and mind, and to raise him to higher and higher degrees of civilization; so by that adaptation the wild man becomes the savage, the savage becomes the barbarian, the barbarian becomes half civilized, civilized, enlightened, and so on.

Now the relation which secures this human progress depends not only on the spiritual powers of man, but on the material powers of nature, on the world of animation, vegetation, mineralization; that depends on the structure of the earth, the distribution of its three great parts, land, water, air, on heat, attraction, affinity, light, electricity; these depend on the length of the day and night; that depends on the width of the earth's attractional orbit; that on the form of the solar system; that on the astral system, whereof it is part, and that probably depends on the great astronomic system, the vast cosmic universe itself. So a little change far off in the remotest nebula, which the astronomer can discover with his glass, might have made it impossible for man to develop his mind here, and advance from age to age.

But this relation of matter to man's mind is so important I do not like to leave it with these few general remarks, which some of you may question, because they depend on facts so remote from the experience of us all, familiar only to be reading of the fewest few. So look at some of the details on a smaller scale, at concrete facts which come close home to every man's experience, and which no man can dispute who has an eye or any thought.

Man's intellectual faculties may be distributed into these three — the understanding, the practical power, which seeks economic use as end; the imagination or poetic power, which seeks ideal beauty as end; and reason, the philosophic power, which seeks scientific truth as end. Look at the relation of the world of matter to each of these three faculties here in New England.

First of the understanding. The business of almost every man and woman is to obtain food, shelter, medicine, and tools to help acquire these three things; directly or remotely the understanding of all men is devoted to this business; industry would acquire these, and charity distribute to whoso could not else obtain them. Now not only does the world of matter contain the substances necessary to feed, clothe, shelter, heal and serve us, on condition of toil and thought, but it furnishes them in such a way that the effort to procure them continually educates, strengthens and refines the people's understanding; toil becomes more and more elevating, thought strengthens the faculty to think, and there takes place that increase of welfare which we call progress. See how much more power we have over the material world than our fathers had only two hundred years ago, as appears in the present superiority of food, shelter, medicine and tools. Two hundred years ago the newly settled Saxon, dependent on the savage soil of New England, fared on the rudest food, the precarious products of the chase, the spontaneous wealth of the seas; they had no fruit but a few berries, some nuts which the stingy soil afforded; their farming gave them Indian corn, pumpkins, beans, artichokes; some little of the European grains which a thousand years ago our Teutonic fathers brought from the central lands of Asia, and which since have

been distributed in civilized lands all round the world. Such was the food of 1658, often scanty in bulk, always coarse in kind. Consider the food of New England now; the grains, the fruit, the flesh, the produce of many a clime. So it is with the shelter. Their homes were extremely rude, open and thin, hot in summer, too cold in winter. The few which are left from the old time show how slender was our fathers' power over the world of matter; yet our fathers had a stronger tendency to grandeur than have their sons to-day. They were ill-clad, and in 1658, half the men who assembled for religious service on the last Sunday in January were half dressed in leather; and yet there were more towns in New England than there were pairs of boots; there was not an umbrella, nor a water-proof coat, nor a water-proof shoe in all the land. How slender was the stock of cotton, linen, woolen goods. Yet our ill-clad mothers were dressier than we. The women of 1658 went to such extremes with their poor finery that not only the preachers scourged them with terrible whips out of the Old Testament, but the Great and General Court made laws to restrict the women's "wide-spread ruffs." How rude was the art of the surgeon, the dentist, the doctor, and how painful were the remedies for bodily ills, and though applied with such heroic vigor by the Samsons and Goliaths of the art medicative, they were powerless against the dysentery, the fever, the smallpox, and other terrible maladies, which were inferred to the wrath of God; and the patient was left with his minister to face disease, with no aid save fasting and prayer. Contrast their condition with ours, and see what a vast improvement has taken place; consider the food of New England to-day, its variety and abundance; the more comfortable and

elegant houses in which men are sheltered; the great advance which has been made in the medical art; see what has been accomplished by vaccination, by the power of ether! The average life of New England men is longer now than it was two hundred years ago; more babies will be children, more children youths, more youths will be men and women, and they will live more years. The same progress is seen in regard to the tools of every description, for the farmer, joiner, smith, spinner, weaver, seamstress. Look at the many instruments which lighten the farmer's work of ploughing, sowing, threshing, winnowing; at the machines for sawing, planing, turning, doing all manner of cabinet and carpenter's work; see how the river becomes a blacksmith, spinner, weaver; look at the sewing machine, which is many a "Dorcas society" done in iron and wood! Now whence comes it that man has such greater power over matter as is shown in his superior mode of feeding, sheltering, healing and serving himself? There has been no change in the world of matter, in any of its powers; but man's understanding has been directed to economic use, seeking food, shelter, medicine, tools; and such is the relation between that understanding and the world of matter which it acts upon, that the understanding continually grows more and more, and acquires greater and greater control over this subject-world of matter. By this harmonious relation the power of New England's thought and toil has been so much greatened in two hundred years that ten thousand working-men of all sorts, working with the tools of 1858, can in an hour do more than ten thousand men in 1658 could have done with their tools in fifteen hours. I think two thousand babies which shall be born in Massachusetts this year will live as long as twenty-five hundred babies

born in Massachusetts two hundred years ago. This progressive development of the understanding, with its consequent dominion over the world of matter, and the increase of working power dependent thereon, with its lengthening out of human life, comes from that harmonious relation which is established between this world of matter without us and this understanding throned within the human brain.

Now the world of matter affects likewise the imagination; it offers us beauty. How handsome are the common things about us! The trees,

> "Their bole and branch, their lesser boughs and spray,
> Now leafless, pencilled on the wintry sky"—

or the summer trees, with their leaves and flowers, or their autumnal jewels of fruit,— how fair they are! Look at the grasses whereon so many cattle feed, at the grains, which are man's bread; and note their handsome color and attractive shape. Walnuts, acorns, apples, grapes, the peach, the pear, cherries, plums, cranberries from the meadow, chestnuts from the wood — how handsome is all the family, bearing their recommendation in their very face! The commonest vegetables,— cabbages, potatoes, onions, crooked squashes, have a certain homely beauty, which to man is grace before his meat. Nothing common is unclean. Then there is the sun all day; the light, shifting clouds, which the winds pile into such curious forms; all night the stars, the moon walking in brightness through the sky,— how beautiful these things are! Then what morning splendor waits upon and ushers in the day, and attends his departure when his work is done! The world of matter — what a handsome nest it is! How

our eye cradles itself in every lovely rose; and all the earth blossoms once each year!

How shape and color fit our fancy, and stars so far off that their distance is inconceivable, impinge their handsome light on every open eye! What delight these things give us, a joy above that of mere use! Even the rudest boy in Cove street looks up at the stars, and learns to wonder and rejoice, and is inly fed. Set him down on the seashore next summer, and how the beauty of its sight and sound will steal into his rude untutored heart as the long waves roll toward the land, comb over and break with "the ocean tide's immeasurable laugh!" With what joy will he gather up the refuse which the sea casts upon the shore,— the bright colored weeds, the curiously-twisted shells, the nicely colored pebbles, worn into so fair and elliptical a shape and polished off so smooth. Thus material nature comes close to the imagination of mankind, even in the rudest child. No North American savage but felt his heart leap at the bright sparkling water of the river, or the sunny lake, or the sublime majesty of the New Hampshire mountains; and in the handsome names which he gave them has he left a monument of the intimate relation between his imagination and the world of matter, which he felt and recognized. This passing delight in nature's beauty helps refine and elevate all men. The boy who puts a dandelion in his button-hole, the girl who stains her cheek with wild strawberries in June,— seeking not only to satisfy her mouth with their sweetness, but to ornament her face with their beauty — are both flying upward on these handsome wings.

But man is so in love with the transient beauty of nature that he captures it, and seeks to hold it forever. He puts the sound of nature into music, which he re-

cords in the human voice or in wooden or metallic instruments; he paints and carves out loveliness on canvas and in wood and stone. Patriarchal Jacob is in love with the rainbow, and so puts its colors into Joseph's coat to keep nature's beauty, while he also clothes handsome Rachel's first-born and longed-for boy. Thought commands toil, and bids it preserve the precarious but precious beauty which the world of matter so lavishly spreads out on earth in flowers, or scatters over the "spangled heavens" in stars. Man is uplifted and made better by this effort. When you find an Ojibway Indian with one stone copying the form of a blackbird upon another, depend upon it he is setting up a guide-board whose finger points upward to civilization, and the tribe of Ojibways will travel that way. Thus closely following the male arts of use come the feminine arts of beauty — painting, sculpture, architecture, music, and poetry. "They weave and twine the heavenly roses in the earthly life; they knit the gladdening bond of love which makes us blessed, and with the chaste veil of the graces, watchful, with holy hand, they shelter the eternal fire of delicate feelings." So nice is the relation between the world of matter and man's imagination that beauty, which is our next of kin on the material side, helps us up continually, takes us to school, softens our manners, and will not let mankind be wild. The first house man ever entered was a hole in the rock, and the first he ever built was a burrow scooped out of the ground. Look at your dwellings now, at the Crystal Palace, the Senate house at Washington, at these fair walls, so grateful to the eye, so welcome to the voice of man! Man's first dress, what a scant and homely patch it was! Look at the ornamental fabrics which clothe Adam and Eve to-day in

such glory as Solomon never put on! Consider the art of music, which condenses all nature's melodious sounds! Man's first voice was a cry; to-day that wild shriek is an anthem of melody, a chain of "linked sweetness long drawn out." Consider the art of the painter and the sculptor, who in superficial colors, or in solid metal or stone, preserves some noble countenance for many an age; and a thousand years hence eyes not opened now shall look thereon, and be strengthened and gladdened. From this intimate relation of the world of matter to man's imagination come the great sculptors, painters, architects and musicians, yea, the great poets,— Shakespeare, Milton, and their fair brotherhood and sisterhood of congenial souls — softening the manners of man, and inspiring his heart, all round the many-peopled globe.

Now see on how nice an arrangement this relation rests. Matter furnishes food, shelter, medicine, tools; and the pursuit of these educates the understanding, which man did not ask for, and wisdom which he did not hope to have is thereby thrown in. But along with food, shelter, medicine, tools, which man must have, there is beauty also, which is food for the imagination, shelter, medicine and tools for subtler needs. This gives also a higher education to a nobler faculty. Beauty does not seem requisite to the understanding alone, it is not valuable to man's mere body, certainly it does not seem necessary to the world of matter itself; but it is a requisite to the imagination, and this thread of beauty, whose shape and color so witches us, runs through all the cosmic web; it is tied in with the subtle laws of animation, vegetation, motion; it is woven up with attraction, affinity, heat, light, electricity; it is connected into the disposition of the three great parts

of the earth,— air, water, land, complicated with the special chemical character of each; it depends on the structural form of the earth, that on the solar system itself. So when you rejoice in a musical sound, in the sight of flowers, in the bloom on a maiden's cheek, when you look at a charcoal sketch or a bronze statue, when you read a drama of Shakespeare, or listen to an essay of Emerson — then remember that the relation between matter and mind, which made these things possible, depends on the structure of the solar system, and was provided for millions of millions of years before there was a man-child born into the world. So much for matter's relations to the imagination.

Now the world of matter jostles the reason or philosophic power. We would know the law of things, the constant mode of operation, the causes of things. We would not only have use for the understanding seeking food, shelter, medicine and tools, not only beauty for the imagination building up music, poetry, architecture, sculpture, painting; but the nature of man requires truth for the reason, which seeks for science and builds up philosophy. Now the world of matter is so related to man's reason that presently the science comes. At first the variety of nature puzzles the rude man, all seems confusion; but soon it is found that there is order in this confusion. The perpetual return of day and night, summer and winter, flower-time and seed-time, impresses man with the regularity of the world of matter. He finds there is law everywhere, a constant mode of operation, and a plan for all. He looks at the moon, her beauty drawing his savage eye. At first its changes seem inconsistent, but soon he finds the change is regular; in four weeks each shape it has assumed is

repeated; and every few years all forms of eclipse come back again. He sees there are stars wandering amid the other stars, but presently finds there are limits to their wanderings, that there is a law which directs their course, and their movements are regular. Nature rouses the instinct of causality in man, he learns a little of nature's law, is strengthened by that knowledge, and impelled to look for more, and finds constantly more even than he hoped for. Thus for convenient use he studies the surface of the ground, which necessity compels him to divide into farm-lots, garden-lots, and spots for building; and at length the great science of geometry is born, the child of reason and the ground. He looks at the stars and behold, the science of astronomy is born, daughter of reason and the heavens! Fed with facts by the mother, and with ideas by the father, what a stately queen has she grown up to be! So from the study of the earth come geography and geology, and from the study of the plants and animals come botany and zoology. Reason grows by what it feeds on. What an odds between the philosophical power of New England to-day and New England two hundred years ago! Still more, note the difference between the reason of mankind to-day, and that of mankind four thousand years ago. This growth comes from the fit relation which exists between the world of matter and this mighty reason which is enthroned in man. The law of the world of matter is knowable by man; and when his thought knows that, the world of matter is manageable by his toil, and he can use its forces to serve his end.

This power of science depends not only on the mind itself, but on the nice relation between that and the world of matter outside. What if this world of mat-

ter were — as the ministers oftentimes tell us it is — a bundle of incoherent things, no constant law in force therein, God intervening by capricious miracle to turn a stick into a snake, water to blood, dust to flies and creeping things, mud to frogs, and ashes to a plague on beasts and men; what if he sent miraculous darkness which could be felt, to revenge him on some handful of wicked men; what if by miracle he opened the sea and let a nation through, and then poured the waters back on its advancing foe; what if the rocks became water, and the heavens rained bread for forty years; what if at a magic touch the sun and moon stood still all day and let a filibustering troop destroy their foe; what if iron swam at some man's command, or the shadow on the dial-plate went back for half a day; what if a whale engulfed a disobedient prophet who fled from God's higher law, and kept him three days shut up, till he made a great poetic psalm; what if a son were born with no human father and could by miracle walk on the waves as on dry land, change water into wine, feed five thousand men with five little barley loaves, and have in reserve twelve baskets full of broken bread; what if he could still the winds and the waters with a word, rebuke disease, restore the lame and the blind at a touch, and wake the dead with "Lazarus, come forth!" Why! science would not be possible, there would be nothing but stupid wonder and amazement, and instead of the grand spectacle of a universe, with law everywhere, thought waking reason everywhere, and stirring Newton to write the Principia of natural science, Linnæus to describe the systems of plants, Laplace to cipher out the mechanics of the sky, Kant to unfold the metaphysics of man and the philosophy of human history, and the masterly intellect of Cuvier to classify

the animal kingdom, mankind thereby growing wiser and still more powerful — this we should not have, we should have no great Leviathan to sail the sea, but instead we should have a priest's world of capricious chaos, some prophet going up to heaven on his own garment, some witch careering on a broom, and man vulgarly staring as in a farmer's yard a calf stands gaping at some new barn door. What is the world of monkish legend, the world of the Arabian Nights Entertainments, the world of the Catholic church, the world of the Calvinistic church, or of the popular theology of our times compared with the grand world which God has made it — stars millions of millions of miles away looking down on these flowers at my side, and all the way between law, order, never once a miracle; and all this so wondrously and tenderly related to man's mind!

The world of matter is not less closely related to the moral progress of mankind. There is a provision to satisfy the wants of every creature; there is food for beast and man, and delight for every living thing. This arrangement shows a principle of justice, which is in the ground, the water, the air, in daylight and darkness. Such is the sympathetic relation between the creating power, which makes the summer water spawn with fish, the summer air to hum with insects, and the providing power, which day by day fills the air and water with their food, that before we know we feel the two are one; and when we recognize the even-handed justice of the outer world, which contents our conscience, we see that the world of matter, with its motion, vegetation, and animation, is a perfect world. Then the order and regularity of nature hint to us

the certainty of a law, a motive, a purpose, which are all perfect. Nothing depends on caprice, there is nothing chimerical; we feel a certain moral satisfaction and security. The world of matter we find is nest for the conscience not less than the intellect.

While at work in the world, finding for the body its food, shelter, medicine and tools, we are brought into complicated relations with other men who are seeking the same things with equal appetite. In our conscience we find a moral law, like what prevails always in nature, which the spirit of nature contains,— the conscience which sees right, and the will which would do right. I am not dreaming when I tell of the moral effect of nature.

So the affections have their relation to the world of matter. We have a fondness for the beauty of nature, which is not merely of imagination, but of feeling as well. Thus we love certain spots of earth above all others,— great trees, tall mountains, some sunny nook with a certain outlook to the sea; some great particular star is dear to us. So the lily, the rose, the violet are objects of affection, even to savage men. The civilized man takes these with him all over the world and plants them where he goes, affection putting a girdle of plants about the earth.

What a tender feeling the Puritan fathers had for the lilac, the primrose, the sun-flower and the marigold, which they brought with them from their homes; dear friends once, poor relations of the wealthy garden now! It is not only the imagination which is pleased at the sight of pitcher plants, ladies' slippers, wild roses, water lilies, fringed gentians; it is affection quite as much.

"The heart with pleasure thrills,
And dances with the daffodils."

But the animals are more nearly related to man's affections. Early the dog joins man, and is perhaps the only beast who voluntarily puts himself under his protection. Thus he became man's companion, the earliest living tool with which he masters other beasts. A mutual affection comes up between the two which is older than science or the art of beauty. Each helps civilize the other, for man must somewhat tame his own passion before he can domesticate the cat, the dog, the mule, or the cow. A certain affection joins man to the swine, the sheep, the ox, the ass, the horse, the camel, and the elephant. They are beasts of service, but objects of affection also. No driver feels to his engine as the man does to his horse. I value a sewing-machine, I admire a picture, but I love a horse or a dog.

But I must say a word of the relation of the world of matter to the religious faculty. Alexander von Humboldt — the ministers call him an atheist — says, "We find even amongst the most savage nations a certain vague, terror-stricken sense of the all-powerful unity of the natural forces and of the existence of an invisible spiritual essence manifested in those forces; and we may trace here the existence of a bond of union linking together the visible world and that higher spiritual world which escapes the grasp of the senses."

The general aspect of nature, with its vast power and constant law has a direct influence to waken reverence and something of awe. The sublimity of the ocean, the motion of all life in the earth, the grandeur of the mountain, the wide plain and great river, fill all thoughtful men with vague, dreamy longings toward

the great cause and providence which creates them all, and fills them all with wondrous life. So the thought of the great trees, the wide-spread forest, house and home for such worlds of life, the bright wild flower, the common grass and grain, food for beast and man — all waken religious feelings in the best and worst of us all. Still more, perhaps, the sun, moon and stars come home to our consciousness, and stir the feelings infinite. Nature speaks thus to all men, in all lands, in every stage of culture, highest and humblest. This is the reason why the rude man worships the objects of nature first, and makes gods of them,— sun, moon or stars, the ocean, mountain, land, rock or tree, beast or bird. This is the rude beginning of mankind's outward religion, which represents the innermost fact of religious consciousness; these poor material things are the lowly rounds in the ladder which mankind travels on, till we come to a knowledge of the infinite God, who transcends all form, all space, all time. The great and unusual phenomena of nature affect the religious feelings with exceeding power, such as an eclipse of the sun or moon, the appearance of comets, that "from their horrid hair shake pestilence and war," an earthquake, a storm, thunder and lightning. To you and me these things are not troublesome; but to the wild man, the savage, or the half civilized, they bring great fear and dread, and thereby waken the religious feeling, which thence slowly tends on to its ultimate work of peace and joy and love. This terror before the violence of nature is exceedingly valuable to the savage man, and it plays the same part in the history of his religion that want has played in the history of his toil and thought. It directs faculty to its function. Once nothing but hunger and fear would make man toil and

think; then, in his rudeness, nothing but the violent aspect of the world would rouse his soul from its savage lethargy; then storm and earthquake, thunder and lightning, were the prophets which spake to man. To the rude the teacher must also be rude. But this fear tormenting man so, he presently studies nature to see if there be cause for fear, and the knowledge which he gains thereby is real joy.

Well did a great Roman poet, two thousand years ago — copying a greater poet, whose reason surpassed even his mighty imagination — say, "Happy is he who can understand the true causes of things, and tramples underneath his feet all fear, inexorable fate, and the roar of angry hell." At length men find that the eclipse or the comet was not harmful, that the storm came not in wrath, that the earthquake tells nothing of an angry God, only of a globe not finished yet, that the thunder and lightning are beneficent, that the power of the earth, the round ocean, and the living air, are full of love. The law of nature leads man to behold the lawgiver, and the benevolence which he finds in the vast majority of cases makes him certain he shall find it when he understands those cases which he knows not yet. He goes from "nature up to nature's God;" and when he knows the earth, its air, water, land, its powers of motion, vegetation, animation, knows the solar system, which maintains for earth its place, knows the astral system which furnishes earth its spot, when he looks on the unresolved nebulæ, which may perhaps be another astral system, so far away that it looks like dust of stars scattered in some corner of the sky,— then does his soul run over with love for that dear God who established such relation between the cosmic universe and the astral system, between that and the solar

system, between that and the earth, between the earth and his body and spirit, his mind and conscience, heart and soul; and then he turns and loves that God with all his understanding, with all his heart and strength; nature from without leagues with spirit from within, and constrains him thus.

To gather to one knot the several threads loose-scattered in the former sermons and in this — the world of matter is a perfect nest for man's body, as far as we understand, and if some few hairs seem to fret his flesh, the conclusion is that they also have a service to perform, and fret it for his good. Then the world of matter is also a perfect nest for man's spirit, fitting its every part. This fitness to flesh or spirit is not accident nor caprice, nor brought about by interference, by transient miracle; it is fixed in the constitution of matter, and in the constitution of the human spirit; in the special character of the earth; in the distribution of air, water, land; in the chemical composition of each of these; in the power of motion through its fivefold forms, by attraction, affinity, heat, light and electricity; in the power of vegetation and animation; in the structural character of the earth, which depends on the solar system, that on the astral, and that on the great cosmic universe itself,— and all this relation between man's soul, its tenderest faculty, and the world of matter, was arranged millions of millions of years before the solar system itself began. Throughout that universe of space and time do we find ever power, law, mind; and what we know we know is good, and what we know not we think is good.

What then is God's character? Let the relation of matter to man's spirit tell. There is such loving kind-

ness as motive to creation, such wisdom and justice to fix the purpose and plan of creation, such power to serve as means to that purpose, that matter fits the mind of man, fits his conscience, his affection and his soul, so that it feeds, educates, strengthens, refines and blesses every spiritual faculty. If it did this only for the wild man or the savage, then the world of matter would be but a cradle, a primary school for the body, but no house and college for the civilized man; and then the wild man would be always wild, the baby would never be a boy. If it did this only for the enlightened man, then the world of matter would be house and college only for the scholar when full grown, not cradle and primary school to train him up. In either case, it were well nigh useless, and you might have your doubt of God. But now the world of matter is spiritual nest for the wild man, for the savage, for the barbarian, for the most enlightened man of to-day; nay, multiply our enlightenment of to-day by the enlightenment of to-day, and enlarge it never so much, still the world of matter is nest for man's spirit, carried to never so high degrees of strength and refinement. The God who makes it all is power, law, mind, is also justice, and also love! How vast the power, how thoughtful the mighty mind, how comprehensive the justice, how far-reaching that endless love, which fills the universal space, the eternal time, with such a plan, which works for you and me, and, while it takes in this universe of space, this immensity of time, and provides for all,—the wild man, the savage, for all the millions that have been, are, and shall be, never neglects a single mote that peoples the sun's beams! This is the God which is told of by the relation between man's spirit and the material world; and in sight of it the spirit of man

looks up and worships, and adores; and he opens his heart, and loves, and trusts — My God, my Father, and my Mother too!

6

RELATION OF GOD AND MAN

Besides this he gave them knowledge and the law of life for an heritage.— Ecclesiasticus xvii, 11.

In the last four sermons we have looked at the evidences of God in the world of matter and the world of man, and in the relation between the world of matter and man's body and spirit. I propose to-day to complete this series of sermons, and so ask your attention to some thoughts on the relation between God and man.

I shall speak first of the causal and providential relation of God to man, the relation on the part of God, who is infinite cause and providence to finite and dependent man; next, of the mode of operation in which that cause and providence works; and finally, of the feeling which man will naturally have to God in consequence of this relation.

First, of God's causal and providential relation to man. The infinite perfection of God we derive from our own consciousness; partly, I think, from that spontaneous action of the intellectual, moral, affectional and religious faculties which we call instinct; partly, also, from that voluntary action thereof which we name reflection, whereby the intellect deliberately works up to philosophy what it gathers as fact. Here I start from the infinite perfection of God.

He stands related to us in two ways; first as the creative cause which brings us into being, either directly or remotely; second, as the conservative providence which

regulates the world and takes care that all goes right. These two, the causal and the providential, bringing us into being, then taking care of us while we exist, comprise the entire relation between us on God's part.

Now from the idea of God's infinite perfection, by logical deduction it follows that God's relation to man, causal and providential, must be perfect. That is, the infinite God, with perfect love to wish the best, with perfect wisdom to know the best, with perfect power to do the best, must have created man solely for the purpose of conferring on him the greatest amount of possible welfare which man's nature could possibly receive. You see at once that this follows unavoidably — for no other purpose could be consistent with infinite power, wisdom and love. It would not be possible for a God infinite in love to create man for the purpose of making him as miserable as possible; only a devil of perfect hate could do that. Nor would it be possible for such a God to create man less happy than he could create him; he could only do that through not wishing men to be so happy as he could make them to be, and that would be in consequence of God's not being perfect in love to men. So from the idea of God's infinite perfection it follows that the divine purpose of creation must be to confer the greatest possible welfare on each created thing. This must be true of his relation to mankind as a whole, in the entire existence thereof, and also true of his relation to each individual,— for as the loving motive is qualitatively infinite, so quantitatively it takes in Jesus, Judas, Peter, James, and John, every living man. Suppose there were a thousand million men on earth to-day. The love which desires the greatest possible welfare for 999,999,999, and either through hate or indifference omits the millionth,

is not perfect love; but as God is infinitely perfect in all qualities, so must he equally desire the welfare of each and all. In this reasoning there can be no mistake as to God's motive and purpose; the motive must be absolute love, the purpose absolute welfare.

Now God is not only infinitely loving to wish welfare, but also infinitely wise to know welfare, and infinitely powerful to achieve it. Accordingly he must provide means perfectly adequate to his perfect purpose. Creating and providing, that is, inventing, organizing and administering the universe of matter and of man, he must make them fit to accomplish just what he wishes. God's ideal of desire in creation must be God's actual of attainment in creation; it is so on the whole, so in each part; the world of matter is just what God meant it to be, the world of man is just what God meant it to be, and the relation between the two just what God meant it to be. There is no antagonism to work outside of God, and make confusion and contradiction in the universe, and thwart him by sowing tares amongst his wheat, for therein God is the only inventor, organizer and administrator, and so there is no external difficulty in the way of achieving his purpose. There is no antagonism of desire or will inside of God, to make confusion and contradiction in God's own consciousness and thwart his benevolence by conflicting motives of ill-will, and accordingly there is no internal difficulty in the way of his executing his purpose. To will is present with him, and how to do he also finds a way, with no hindrance from within or without to prevent his universe from being a perfect means to a perfect end. So then, not only does this causal providence of the infinite God aim at the greatest possible welfare for each man, but also provides a means to

achieve that end. This is true of mankind in the whole, true of each special person; no man can be neglected by the perfect love, wisdom and power of God. If the means be adequate to secure the welfare of 999,999,999 persons, and through weakness fail to secure it for the millionth, then the means are not infinitely perfect, and not possible for the infinitely perfect God to create. All this follows unmistakably; there is no fault in this logic, and if you watch the process, step by step, you are as sure of each step as that one and one make two. But by reasoning in this general way and from facts of consciousness, either spontaneous, of instinct, or reflective, of philosophy, we learn only the benevolence of the purpose, the sufficiency of the means, the certainty of the end; but we learn nothing about the method by which the means are worked, and the manner in which the end is attainable; for these we must look elsewhere.

So consider the next point, namely, the mode of operation by which the infinite God works, and see in what method and manner he executes his purpose. Here it is not facts of instinctive or of reflective consciousness alone we are to look at, but facts of observation in the world of matter; and to avoid perplexity and confusion, I shall refer chiefly to those facts which I have mentioned in the four preceding sermons.

So far as we know the universe there is a plan in it,—regularity, order, force as acting for a purpose. This appears in all parts, in the silicious shells which you find by millions in a handful of peat ashes from a farmer's fire, in the structure of the vast solar system itself. So far as we know, not only is there a plan for each thing, but a unity of plan for the whole, all parts working

harmoniously together, the astral system with the solar system, the solar system with the earth, the earth with man, the world of matter affording what is needful to his automatic powers,— warmth, light, breath, sound, smell; and for his voluntative powers affording food, shelter, medicine and tools. There is a perfect harmony of relation between each smallest or largest plant and the air, water, earth, heat, light, electricity; but this harmonious relation depends on the gravitation at the earth's surface, that in part on the swiftness of its rotation, the length of day and night, that on the width of the earth's attractional orbit, and that on the general structure of the solar system; so the plan reaches through the whole solar system, and takes in the little green fucus on the outside of yonder wall. Such unity of purpose is there in so vast a plan, so widely extended throughout space.

Now this plan has a vast extent in time as well as space; it occupies all known time, in all known space, space universal and time immense. Things are got ready for man whose use does not appear till millions of years have passed away. See how slowly the child grows up from a puny baby, an impotent mass of pulpy substance, to a man. But that is only the smallest part of his history. Long series of animals preceded him, — radiates, articulates, mollusks, vertebrates, all sloping up to him, and they all pointed to him with the silent finger of prophecy, and before he is born he goes through the forms of several animals lower than himself, nay, sometimes comes into this world with the mother mask of the inferior animals upon him, here with a hair lip, there with web fingers or toes, or the gills of a frog; and the German physicians say that every five thousandth man is born with the marks of a fish's

gills upon his neck, which every baby has at a certain stage of its fœtal progress. Man comes therefore at the end of a long series of animals, who are forerunners of this messiah, voices crying in the wilderness, "The kingdom of man is at hand! Prepare his ways, and make his paths straight!" One day I make no doubt it will be understood that man could not have existed without the help of these inferior animals, more than our tools of steel could have existed without our ancestors' tools of wood and bone and rock, wherewith the tool-making process began. In nature there is nothing by leaps, everything gradually slopes up to its perfection. But the world of vegetation must precede the world of animals which feed thereon, and the mineral or inorganic world must come before the world of plants which feed on it; and the special structure of the minerals depends on the structure of the solar system itself. So then, in all the time from the first organization of the solar system, when it was nothing but a huge mass of dim nebulous vapor down to this minute, there has been a unity of plan, all forces working together for a definite purpose, and man came at the end thereof. Let me take two plain and obvious examples. Many million years ago huge plants grew on the earth in immense numbers; they were destroyed in the great geological catastrophies which followed, and masses of matter were piled upon them; by intense heat from below and immense pressure from above these plants were changed into coal; by subsequent convulsions they were changed in their positions and so brought to light. This coal seemed useless for any purpose; but as man becomes civilized he wants warmth in his house and heat to soften the metals and make them pliant and coal supplies his necessity. At the

touch of coal obstinate iron becomes as pliant as a thread and man binds it as he will. Enlightened man wants power to turn his mill and bear his produce over land and sea, and coal furnishes it. Child of fire and water, the steam-engine is born to pass over land and ocean without rest, and to serve him also while it stands and waits. See what service coal performs; it smelts iron, which turns to a thousand tools for all the arts of peace or war; it is a railroad on the land, a ship on the water, a wire-road through the sky or underneath the sea whereon man's thought travels swift almost as the light. To-day there are six thousand mills in England driven by steam, which occupy the toil of nearly five million men. Nay, half the handsome dresses of this congregation were woven up by coal, and all have been taken on its sooty shoulders and borne unsoiled from place to place. It warms our houses, bakes our bread, and is the most efficient minister of our civilization; and yet it was provided for at least ten million years ago and invested with all its wondrous properties. In the great states of Kentucky and Tennessee the coal formation is so rich that it is computed there are a million tons to every square mile of land; and two tons of coal has got more physical power than a common man can develop in himself from the time he is 16 till he is 65; I mean two tons of coal would turn a grindstone more times than a man in his whole life could do. What an immense provision for future toil, and so for future civilization is laid up under those states; man has but to bring it to the surface. Now such unity of plan is there in this world of time that ten million years ago this power of work and civilization was stored away to remain till man should need it. Strike coal from existence and you see how much of our present

civilization would perish along with it. Sulphur, carbon, hydrogen are as old as the solar system; none of them has changed in property or power. Unite them in a certain way, and you have an ether which makes the flesh insensible to pain and the surgeon cuts our limbs as wood and we feel it not. Now this power to stupify the sense of pain was provided for at least a million years ago, though it was not brought to light till the genius of a Boston chemist [14] disclosed it to mankind a few years ago. What unity of plan is there all this time! No miracle conferred a new property on these three substances, but when genius brought them together there was the power which God provided so long ago.

In the universe all is done according to law, by the regular and orderly action of the forces thereof; there is a constant mode of operation which never changes. This is so with the power of motion, in all its five forms of attraction, affinity, heat, light and electricity; and so with the powers of vegetation and animation. Nothing is done by human magic, nothing by divine miracle. Things come about slowly as it seems to us, but orderly. Religious poets tell us that God said in Hebrew speech, "Let the earth be!" and it was forthwith. "Let the waters bring forth fish, the air fowls, and the earth cattle and creeping things!" and it was done. But when you consult the record of the earth itself you find that the six days' miracle of the poet were millions of years' work of the divine forces of the universe and never a miracle. These forces are always adequate to do their work and to achieve the divine purpose with no miraculous help, no intervention on God's part, no new creation of forces, and in that immense

book of space whose leaves date back through such vast periods of time, there is not a single miracle recorded; not once does it appear that God intervened and changed the normal action of any single thing. So from observation you find as fact what from consciousness you developed likewise as idea.

Destruction also takes place. In times past there have been great convulsions of the elements whereby things which suited one condition were destroyed to give place to things which suited a new condition. Thus the plants which became coal and the animals which fed thereon were destroyed after they had done their work, just as the snow melts in spring and the snowflakes perish with it; just as you and I shall die when we have served out the time God enlisted us for. Earthquakes and volcanoes still perform their destructive work; thus a storm may destroy beasts and men, lightning strike them down or a tornado whirl them away; death follows on the steps of life; pain is never far from any one of us, sometimes a constant companion. These things trouble men at first, but when carefully looked at and understood they present no difficulty. The pain we suffer is just enough to make us preserve our life or limbs; without it not a child would grow up with a finger, a tooth, or an eye. Death is no evil; it is a ripening, a finishing and passing off; no more an evil than birth, but like it one step more, a step upward and forward. This is true of the death of John and Sally, true likewise of the death of a race of animals, whose huge bones or tiny shells we find laid between the leaves of this great stone book. When the race of saurians a million years ago had done their work, it was proper that the race should die. A storm is the regular action of natural forces, as much so as the sun's

rise or the opening of a rose. Volcanoes and earthquakes are equally orderly, and no doubt are as beneficent in the motive which causes them to be, as in the purpose which they serve. A certain economy is noticeable in the divine plan; there is a maximum of result, with a minimum of force, for nothing is wasted in this world. This is true in regard to pain. The girl on skates at first stumbles and hurts herself just enough to make her take care. Pain is the school-master to bring us to soundness and health. The forms of death most common to every creature below man are the easiest. Rapacious animals seize their prey and shake it to death. As you and I look on and see a terrier dog thus treat his prey we think it is a horrid mode of death; but not many years since an experiment was performed which shows it is not so; a lion seized Dr. Livingstone in South Africa, and treated him as a terrier does a rat, until attacked by another man, when he dropped the missionary; and the doctor says he felt no pain, only a half-dreamy consciousness such as induced by taking chloroform or ether. This fact shows very plainly the motive in the divine being which appointed for animals, the dog, the bear, and the cat tribe, this mode of putting their prey to death. The large emmets feed on the small emmets; the great ant gives chloroform to the little one before he rends him limb from limb, and the benumbed ant suffers no pain. These facts point to a divine benevolence thus administering the economy of things, even the smallest things.

In the midst of this alternate construction and destruction, new life and death, there is a regular ascending development in the world of matter, a constant tendency upward to higher and higher forms of things. First there is mere mineral matter with only its power

of motion in its five forms; and if the philosophic theory of Laplace be true, even there, there is a remarkable progress in the formation of this mineral matter which the solar system has gone through. First it is a mass of thin vapor; then this matter condenses, and rotates slowly about itself; then the matter breaks into consecutive rings, one separating after another; then the rings condense into spheres, each rotating about its own axis and revolving likewise about the central mass; some of them are possessed of rings surrounding themselves, which subsequently break and condense into moons; at length each takes the form of the various planets, from Neptune to Mercury. This earth goes through several geological phases, passing gradually to higher and higher forms of motion.

Then there is vegetable matter with its power of growth. The earliest plants appear to have been quite rude and simple in their structure, closely allied to the mineral forms of crystallization; and from these humble efforts there is a constant sloping up to the mighty baobab tree. Then comes animal life, with its various means of power; then human life, with its power of conscious toil and thought, and its ability thereby to make the forces of the earth serve man for food, shelter, medicine and tools.

This ascending progress seems to be the general rule in the universe, things beginning in their lowest and humblest forms, and gradually going higher and higher, and becoming more complex. In the animals below man this progress goes on by the creation of new kinds of animals, each with higher functions than the other, for there is progress for the individual from birth onward in all animals, but no progress in the

species, from the first bear to the last bear. So there could be only the biography of a particular bear, tracing his development from birth to complete and full-grown bearhood, and then his decline and death; but there can be no history of the bear kind, for there is no progressive development of beardom, no rise and progress, no decline and fall; their number may fluctuate, their character is always the same. But in the case of man, progress is not merely by the creation of new kinds of men, each higher than the last, but by the development of the whole through successive stages of primitive wildness, savagedom, barbarism, half-civilization, and the civilized and enlightened state. In John and Sally there is an individual progress from babyhood to maturity and death, whereafter the progress begins again and goes on forever through new stages we know little of, perhaps nothing. Their children will start from a little higher elevation to begin with, and go a little further up than the point their father and mother attained. The next generation is always an improvement on the former; it starts if not with improved faculties, at least with improved opportunities and additional speed, which practically amount to the same thing. The beasts can transmit nothing but their body, while this generation will bequeath to its successors not only its improved bodily organization, but likewise the result of all the toil and thought which we have inherited from our fathers, and all which we have added to that inheritance. With England and Russia there is national progress from the rude condition of two thousand years ago up to this day, and this will go on I know not how long. At length these nations, I suppose, will decline and perish, but the new nations which shall take their place, in the year 5858 or 2858,

will start with a higher civilization, perhaps with better faculties, certainly with better tools and opportunities, and go still further on. Now with mankind there is a human progress from wildness to barbarism, civilization, and so on, and as the human race never dies, like John and Sally, and England and Russia, that progress is continual, and all the intellectual, moral, affectional and religious excellence brought out by John and Sally, by England and Russia, at their death falls to the inheritance of mankind, which is the residuary legatee and heir at law of all who die, and which takes possession of all individual and national value. In this progress three things are noticeable,— the development of faculties, intellectual, moral, affectional and religious; the acquisition of increased power over the material world to control the motion, vegetation, and animation of the earth, and therewith feed, shelter, heal and serve mankind the more; and the gathering of men into larger and larger companies, where all have a certain joint unity of action, and each preserves personal freedom, so that each loses nothing and every one gains from all.

Now this progress is brought about by the forces which are in matter and man, and the harmonious relation between the two; and as this human and material power always exists, and as their relation is always perfect, so the progressive development of mankind is a constant fact, the resultant of all men's various toil and thought. As the motions of that nebulous mass, just referred to, its attraction, its separation into concentric rings, their condensation and formation into planets, are a part of the plan of the solar system, and therefore not a movement is lost, so all the world of

mankind tends to the progressive development of man's faculties, the acquisition of greater power over material forces, and the attainment of a higher social and individual welfare for each and all, and this progress is just as sure to go on as the planet Neptune is to move about the sun, or as babies to be born from year to year. In the world of matter there is no individual will, no individual experiment, no disturbing force occurs there, and so there is never a mistake. You can calculate the place of the sixth moon of Saturn with infallible certainty, for the forces which control it are known and appreciable. But man has a certain amount of freedom; part of his conduct depends on personal caprice; he must make progress by experiments, which may fail, many will fail, and pain attend the failure. This pain forbids the repetition of the failure. Johnny puts his finger into the fire; the pain is such that he does not repeat the experiment. Russia puts her finger into Moldavia,[15] and is hurt thereby, and will not try the experiment again. In the long run, this pain for the individual mistake is adequate correction, and at last will help us to that welfare which we seek.

Now the ideal condition and character, which both men and nations feel so far above their actual attainment, the ceaseless experiments they make to realize that ideal, the pain which follows any failure, the joy which comes of their success, and the mighty instinct of progress in all the leading races of mankind, show that man is to have an immense duration here, corresponding to that vast amount of time the earth has been in getting ready for him. When you look over the whole of human history and know man's successful development from the wild to the enlightened state, it

is quite plain that we are on the march towards a glorious triumph of civilization for mankind on earth, as well as for the individual man beyond the earth, and this is no more likely to fail than the sun is to drop out of the heavens, for this progressive development of man depends on forces which are as constant as gravitation, and which can never fail unless human nature or material nature should fail. The world of matter is nest for man in his wild state, so fitted that it stirs him to the next stage above it, and that to the enlightened state, which is likewise a nest to stimulate him still more; and when our children shall have advanced so far that the nineteenth century after Christ shall seem to them as the nineteenth century before Christ seems to us, depend upon it the world of matter will still stimulate man to take fresh steps in his ever-ascending march.

So far then we are sure of two things on God's part in his relation to us,— that the infinite God acts from a perfect motive, to confer the highest possible welfare on each man, and by the perfect means which are entirely adequate to that great end; next, that this will be brought about by the constant mode of operation of the forces of matter and man; that the arrangement is made at vast distances of time and space, and all the conditions of the material and human world are formed and provided for and made subservient to that great end, even pain itself is minister to that welfare. On man's part we are also sure of the personal immortality provided for by the infinite perfection of God.

Now what are the feelings that man will naturally have towards God from knowing this infinitely perfect character, this progressive development by means of

the harmonious relation between man and matter, and the constant mode of operation of the forces therein? First of all there comes a feeling of absolute trust, a reliance on the dear Father and Mother of us and all the world of life. The innermost primitive fact of instinctive religious consciousness is the sense of dependence, a feeling of want which only a God can supply; but the innermost ultimate fact of reflective religious consciousness is the idea of the infinitely perfect God, who works from love as motive, for man's highest possible welfare as purpose, with all the powers of the universe as means, by their constant mode of operation as method, and who will achieve infinite welfare for each and all as his end. As by animal instinct the newborn baby seeks with instinctive mouth for the mother's breast, so by spiritual instinct man seeks after God with great hungering of the spirit; and as the baby is fed and satisfied with that natural food thus providentially furnished for its baby mouth, the means of life and growth, so is the hungry soul fed and satisfied with the infinite God, and hangs thereon and lives and grows, not without access of unexpected strength. God's infinite perfection satisfies the soul's desire, both the instinctive and reflective want, and as soon as we know this ever-live divinity we drop all less ideas and have no other God before him, nor make us any graven image or likeness of anything in the heavens above, or the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth, but bow down and worship that. Then the Gods of the churches, with their intervention, their miracle, their special love, their private hate, and endless hell, are seen to be but idols, which are nothing, while we worship in our turn the real God who is. We feel entire confidence in him. We are sure of God; he is all that we

could wish, far more, for he transcends our instinctive feeling and our reflective thought. I know that the infinite God loves me more than my mortal father and mother ever could, and desires my welfare as much more than they as his infinite power is above their little ness! He loves me better than I myself; I may forget myself, the infinite God will never forget me; I may try reckless experiments with myself, but God never will, nor suffer mine to reach their maddest result. I may stretch out my hands against my own life; he will restrain my hands so that I cannot take it; a mother's hand holds and checks me with her gentle, "Thus far, my child, and no farther!"

I say I am sure of God; sure of his motive, which is love; sure of his purpose, which is the greatest welfare possible for me to receive; sure of his means, the powers of the universe of matter and of spirit, fit for their work, aye, all the powers of omnipotence, the all-wise, all-just, all-loving God; sure of the method, the constant mode of operation of all these powers, material and spiritual; and sure of the end, absolute welfare for myself, for all mankind, sure to be as blessed as I can bear, secure of infinite progress for ever and ever. If I am prosperous, what additional delight comes from my thought of God and trust in him, the infinite Father, the infinite Mother. As more than gold or diamonds do I value a brown leaf by a dear hand choicely laid to mark some precious word in a book, marking at the same time some yet more precious passage in my life, so do I value the little talent I have, the slender excellence, a brown leaf laid in to mark my page in the world's great book where it stands written that with shovel or broom I clean the streets of the town, or with

pen and paper I seek to clean the theological air of the world. I remember that this power comes from God and how grand and glorious then appears my humble life, its little talent, my slender excellence laid there between the storied pages of the book of God. If I am unprosperous, my fortune broken, my good name gone, my health decayed, if my dear ones crumble and moulder away in the slow fire of time, and I am left alone, sick, friendless, poor and old,— still bright within the clear heaven of my consciousness shines the eternal light of God, and I am never alone, I am rich and strong and young with hopeful life. Let my nation decline, like Italy or Spain, the queen debauched by her vices dying of hopeless decay, and let it be enslaved, like Africa, too cowardly to clutch the tyrant's throat,—still I can look this in the face with sad serenity and say, " Thou God knowest that good shall come out of this evil, to the tyrant who desires to enslave, and to the victim who dares not smite and kill."

Then there is a desire to be in harmony with the infinitely perfect God, not only to know God by feeling and thought, in the instinctive emotion and philosophic reflection, but also to be at one with him, my life in unison with his life, as the sunshine or the rain is in unison with the world. So I shall seek to use every limb of my body and every faculty of my spirit in its normal way, and for its normal work. I shall educate my mind and conscience and heart and soul to the highest possible degree, cutting nothing off sacramentally, trying nothing on superstitiously, but using them for the highest possible work. Hence I shall toil and think, partly for myself, partly for other men, for my nation, for mankind. I shall submit to no wickedness which I can overcome; if a tyrant assail me, I shall

kill the tyrant. I shall ask no miracle to help me, only the constant mode of operation of the natural powers of matter and man. The might which slaughters the victim's oppressor is one of the means God has given to put tyrants down. I cannot fail to love the infinite being who is above and within me, for to my mind he is the ideal wisdom and beauty, to my conscience the ideal justice and will, to my heart the ideal affection, and to my soul the ideal integrity, the absolute God, perfect, good, just, and fair, the God who is in matter and spirit, and yet transcends them both with his infinity. He is the supreme God of desire to every faculty. So I love God as I can no other being,— father, mother, wife, child; my love to him transcends them all; it is reverence, it is gratitude, it is adoration, it is trust; my will melts into his, and the two are one. All selfishness is gone, and in the life of God within my consciousness do I find my own higher life. We have our special times for feeling this love, our several ways for expressing it; unhappy is that man or woman who tattles thereof, foaming at the mouth in some noisy conference, as in a village dog barks to dog, making night hideous with cannibal uproar; but blessed is he whose noiseless piety sweetens his daily toil, filling the house with the odor of that ointment; thrice blessed when it comes out in the character of the men whose holy lives, glittering with good deeds, adorn the land they also serve and heal and bless. In our sorrow for evils we cannot hinder, in our suffering for the pain and wickedness of other men, in our remorse at wrong deeds ourselves have done,— how sweetly comes this piety, joining us to the true and loving and living God. Then what joyous tranquillity comes in, what rest and peace for the soul. I do not wish to change the mind

of God, nor the world of matter, nor the nature of man, nor alter the relation between them; but I conform myself to them. I deserve success, though I may not find it here and now; still I aspire upwards for perfection higher and higher yet, sure that I shall reach it at the last, and all mankind shall journey with me in that ascending march. What is there more for man to ask? Dear Father and Mother in heaven and on earth, sure of thee, of all else am I also sure!

A poet of our own, a man of science not less, looking on the empty wreck of a chambered nautilus, and applying to his ear the convolutions of that smooth-lipped shell, sung out the natural piety it whispered to his soul:—

Year after year beheld the silent toil
That spread his lustrous coil;
Still, as the spiral grew,
He left the past year's dwelling for the new,
Stole with soft step its shining archway through,
Built up its idle door,
Stretched in his last-found home, and knew the old no more.

Thanks for the heavenly message brought by thee,
Child of the wandering sea,
Cast from her lap, forlorn!
From thy dead lips a clearer note is born
Than ever Triton blew from wreathed horn!
While on my ear it rings,
Through the deep caves of thought I hear a voice that sings:

Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul,
As the swift seasons roll!
Leave thy low-vaulted past!
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast,
Till thou at length art free,
Leaving thine out-grown shell by life's unresting sea!

VII

THEOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL DEVELOPMENT OF NEW ENGLAND

1.

As he thinketh in his heart, so is he.— Proverbs xxiii, 7.

I ask your attention to a discourse of the condition of Boston and New England in relation to the fundamental principles of morals, with the causes therefor. Thoroughly to appreciate the moral condition of our town and New England, let us look at some preliminaries.

First, the bulk of New Englanders are of Anglo-Saxon origin, and accordingly they share the five leading peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon tribe,— its invasive and aggressive disposition; its exclusive nationality, hostility to other tribes of men; its intense materialism, and an unideal, unpoetic character; its great administrative power in practical business of all departments, agriculture, and politics; and its remarkable love of individual liberty, which is practically modified by decorum and love of law and order. That is the first thing,— the ethnological origin of the greater part of the people.

Next, New England was at first a collection of religious colonies. Men came here with religious motives; not so much to accumulate money, as to worship God in their own way; they could make money at home, or wherever they might be cast; they could not pray as they liked; the sky of England was not high enough

for the Puritan steeple. This religious origin has marked New England hitherto, and will distinguish her and her descendants for centuries to come. She is the daughter of a great idea, and the mother of yet greater; a stern daughter, a severe mother, but of children fairer and larger than herself —"forty but kindly." It was the most spiritual part of the old Anglo-Saxons which came over, the least materialistic, the most ideal, the most devout; a little maddened by oppression, no doubt, but fired too with great thoughts of duty to God and the destination before man. That is the next peculiarity,— it was a religious colony.

These religious Anglo-Saxons were on a continent fenced with an Atlantic ditch three thousand miles wide, and so separated from the old retarding influences of the European continent. That is the third thing.

Next, several other tribes here mixed their blood with the Anglo-Saxon; to wit, the Saxon-Scotch, a closely allied tribe, and the Scotch-Irish, only one step further removed. These added a new ethnological element to the constitution of the people, and so laid the foundation for wider sympathies and higher and nobler civilization than could be achieved by the Anglo-Saxon alone. Marriage between near relations depraves the stock; and it is as true of great tribes of nations as of cousin Edward and cousin Jane.

Two hundred years ago such men, some fifty or seventy thousand strong, found themselves in New England,— a wilderness before them, a sea behind. They had the best tools and machines of the past, the best institutions which were then known,— a representative form of government, and a congregational

form of religion, then the most advanced of all. None so much scourged man with fear; none so teased him with longing hopes, none was so fitted to the then condition of these most spiritual Anglo-Saxons on the edge of the ocean. On the little isthmus of time the Puritan stood there, a great wide hell on his left hand, and a little, straight, narrow heaven on the other. Here was Jesus and the Holy Ghost inviting heavenward; there the devil, with witches, wizards, demons and chimeras dire, "shapes hot from Tartarus," allured or drove to darkness and utter death. Here he was in the woods, with his Bible in one hand to fend off the devil, with his working tools in the other to keep material want at a distance, and his firelock of war leaned in the thicket, never far behind him.

Now all this ought to be borne in mind in order to appreciate our material condition to-day; for, letting alone all who have come to New England within the last fifteen years, nine-tenths of the remainder of the people of New England are descended from that body of pilgrims; — and it is a fact of which we are sufficiently proud. We have reason to be proud, and the pride is sufficient.

Now almost all the ideas, and consequently all the institutions, set up in America, which are noble and we call American institutions, have come out of New England. Massachusetts is the mother state of American ideas, and on her platform, which is set up at New York, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Cleveland, any platform of great moral principles, there you see the footprints of Massachusett's feet; and so all over the country,— in California and in Pennsylvania, and states between. One great idea, however, which came early to New England, was not of American growth, the idea

of free, unbounded religious toleration. The men who settled Plymouth learned it from the Hollanders, who extended it to them and to everybody else, for in the beginning of the seventeenth century there lived together harmoniously Catholics and Protestants of every variety. The Anglo-Saxon had no such thought in his mind, and in America the Dutch who settled New York and the Germans who built up Pennsylvania set the same thought a-going; and the Anglo-Saxon presently learned to copy and carry it out. Toleration was a foreign scion grafted on the Puritan crab stock; and it took kindly in that tree, and grew famous shoots.

The Puritan had no philosophy. At first he tried to make his religious instincts and his Scriptural traditions serve instead, but it would not do; even the Puritan must think and account to himself of God, of man, and the relation between them. He must do it with his own thought; he must have his plan of the universe, must be a philosopher. This is one great virtue of Calvinism, that it turns a man in upon himself, and makes him think. By and by, of course, it makes him think a great ways beyond John Calvin; but it always leads men to thought, breeds metaphysicians; and I know not what would have made the Anglo-Saxon man here in the wilderness think as he did think, except Calvinism.

So far as he attained philosophy distinct from Calvinism, it was what is known to scholars as the sensational philosophy,— that scheme which declares that man has this mode of acquiring knowledge: first, by the senses,— seeing, hearing, smelling, touching, tasting, and so on; next by reflection on matter which the senses afford him; and that is all. So, says this sensational scheme of philosophy, there is nothing in a man's

mind which was not first in his senses; there are no innate ideas, there is no power to produce innate ideas. This scheme of philosophy, which I have dwelt on many times before, suited the materialistic tendency of the Anglo-Saxon, his unideal character,— because he easily feels sure of what he touches and handles, not sure of what he touches with his soul, and handles only with his intellect. This sensational philosophy is the "original sin" of the Anglo-Saxon people; it appears in Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Paley, and Hume, who have been the greatest thinkers of this tribe. It appears not less in Jonathan Edwards, strangely mixed up with notions gathered from another source.

Now the Puritan did not like this philosophy; he could not legitimate his religion by it. Still it was the best he had, all he had. Beside it was the supernatural miraculous revelation, which was one thing; on the other side was this sensational philosophy. So if the Puritan broke with his supernaturalism, his miraculous tradition, he only joined himself to this sensational philosophy. If he got a broader field, it was on a lower plane. Before the Puritan, the Anglo-Saxon, could extricate himself from this difficulty, several things must come to his help.

In the course of a hundred and twenty-five years, say from 1650 to 1775, three new helps came into the American experience. First, the works of the great continental writers on the laws of nature and of nations, such men as Grotius, Puppendorff, and their successors. These men treated of the natural rights of nations. That speculation led men to think of the natural rights of individuals, and to declare the "natural and essential rights of men."[1] But here let me say,

that is a phrase not two hundred years old in any human speech; I cannot trace it distinctly back quite a hundred years; for the first time I find it, it is in the mouth of James Otis in Faneuil Hall, preached as the gospel of the incipient democracy of the people of this town.

Next, the works of the French free-thinkers came to America,— men who started with the sensational philosophy, and by logic severer than the English carried it out to its legitimate conclusion, and swept away a great deal of rubbish, and also a great deal that the human race could not afford to part with. Such men were Voltaire, Helvetius, and their followers. These works produced a profound influence on some of the greatest thinkers of America, on Dr. Franklin, Dr. Rush, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, and George Washington,— the last of whom had little philosophy, being busy with practical things; but who seems to have shared the opinions of these great French thinkers, both their good and ill.

Thirdly, the most spiritual, and yet more radical, thinkers of France, who did not follow the materialistic school of England, had a deeper influence. Here come the writings of Rousseau, whose footsteps are deeply set in America, alongside of those of his illustrious fellow citizen of Geneva. No foreigners have produced such an influence in America as these two citizens of Swiss Geneva, John Calvin and Jean Jaques Rousseau. It is a strange spectacle,— the two men as radically different as two could well be, but both dropping their penny of contribution into the alms-box of America, both producing great effects.

These three new sources of help changed the ideas of America, and soon as a fair opportunity appeared new

institutions must necessarily spring from the new ideas.

But before the American Revolution there was no American thing common to the twelve colonies, no more than now between Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and the British West Indies. They all united in a common love for England, which was the common cradle and crown. Fear of the French in the North and Northwest made them still more dependent on England; but when that fear was removed by the cession of Canada, and the colonies needed England no longer for defense, her attempts to oppress the colonies destroyed the feeling of respect and love for her, and the spiritual bond was likewise rent asunder. The new ideas derived from these three sources, and the old unconquerable instinct for individual liberty, these made it easy for the colonies to separate from their mother country. You see the foot-prints of these three in the Declaration of Independence itself, and in the great state papers that preceded and followed it.

While the war proceeded there was a rapid growth of ideas in America, partly helped by the new French thought which came with Lafayette,— who was the champion of philosophy as well as the rights of men in America, and who reported what he could not have invented,— and partly helped by the domestic thinking; for in a revolution the whole people becomes metaphysical and falls back on first principles and thinks rapidly, and deeply too. The same thing took place in France in 1789 and in 1848; the same kind of revolution is going on in England at this day. Great national calamities produce this result. The colonies were held by outward pressure while the war lasted, and after it the Union was organized on the material instincts of the

people; the North wanted union for industry and commerce, the South for defense against foreign foes and domestic slaves. The Revolution removed a great many causes which had hindered the moral development of the American people, and it left us free and independent, giving us therefore the prime condition of the moral development of any people; namely,— that it depend on itself, not on a foreign power. It made us our own masters. But it left one permanent source of demoralizing influence, the institution of slavery, which necessarily must corrupt the whole nation so long as it remains. Few men looked on it in that light then; with the history of eighty years behind us anybody can see it to-day.

The separation made, the union agreed upon, America went on, developing old and new ideas into institutions. For the next fifty years they took three forms. They must always take the same three, namely,— theological, political, social. First see what happened in the theological way. The understanding enlightened by philosophy protested against a theology which was at variance with human reason; a theological revolution took place, the child of these new ideas. Two new sects sprang into being, the Unitarians and the Universalists. One said the trinity is not in the Bible; the other said there is no hell between Genesis and Revelation. Both Unitarian and Universalist clung to the main doctrines of the old theology; both rested on the theology of the Bible; miraculous revelation they rested upon, vicarious salvation they looked forward to; but they broke with the trinity and with hell. The old church reacted against both, and smote them with its two-edged sword, so far as its aged arm could wield that. But all the sects felt the influence of that revolu-

tion. The popular theology — ice formed in the dark ages — was melting under the fierce democratic sun of America, and the stream of humanity broke it to pieces and carried great lumps far out to sea. Harvard College went over to free thought, and was on the side of progress and humanity, strange as it may seem, and one of the very foremost clergymen was by her chosen public professor of theology. Even Harvard College — moved in the stream of time as the world glides by, as it is now — broke with the old tradition.

Still there was no new foundation for morals, there was no new philosophy. The sensational took a stronger hold. On the one side was the sensational philosophy, which did not admit of disinterested virtue; on the other hand was the old supernatural tradition, miraculous authority; there was nothing between the two. What of human consciousness did not come from sensationalism was either declared to be a whimsy or else to be a matter of revelation, which man received through miraculous communication from God. Religion must rest on a miraculous tradition; politics, science, business, must rest on human philosophy. These two barques, the old traditional ship of the church, the sensational philosophy of the human understanding, these were all. In the old church barque was total depravity, an angry God, vicarious redemption, eternal damnation, and the devil. In the other was freedom of thought, a limited virtue, no disinterested benevolence, no certainty of immortality. There were man — to carry out this figure — floating about on rafts ill-joined, struggling as they could; and here and there a stout swimmer, depending on his own arms, struck off alone. That was the state of things brought about in the theological world.

Politically there was a continual advance of the people, the magistrate becoming less and less, the mass of the people more and more. Less reverence was paid to the hat of the magistrate. Let me give an example. When John Hancock was chosen first governor, the office of governor of Massachusetts was deemed so important that the parish church wherein he worshipped partitioned off his pew from the rest, and put a green curtain a foot and a half high all around the top, in order to screen the governor from the vulgar eyes of the rest of mankind. That was the reverence paid to the governor in 1780 or earlier. Then when Samuel Adams, a poor man, became governor, a coach must be given him by his wealthy friends. Now the governor sits anywhere on the platform at meetings or in a pew not distinguished from others; he rides from his house in the country to his business in town, not in a coach given by his friends, but in an omnibus with the rest of men. It would have amazed our fathers,— that familiarity of the governor with the people; and they would have said "The people cannot be ruled, for the governor strikes hands with common men." All that has absolutely passed away. Presently laws became milder, suffrage was universal, the individual was more respected.

Compare the state constitutions made during the largest half of the Revolutionary War with the amendments added since. Slavery disappeared from New England, all feudalism vanished. The people with slow, but irresistible logic, were carrying out their first principles. But still a vicious theology, and an insufficient philosophy, retarded the political development of the people. If you think wrong about God or man, the vicious thought deforms all the rest of

your thinking. You can never escape the consequences of a first principle.

A similar change went on socially. The old notion of distinguished birth sat on the hills of Boston and looked longingly towards England, till its brain grew bewildered; and the devil cast out from the swine entered in, and it ran violently down a steep place and perished in the Atlantic, beyond hope of recovery. Reverence for money took its place. The question ceased to be asked "How much pertaining to this man is dead and buried?" and this other question was asked, "What is there belonging to him which is alive and above ground?" Only the antiquary asked after his father and mother; the practical man asked, "What talents has the man got in him?" Industrial democracy took the place of the old theocratic and military aristocracy. The career was open to talent, and the question was not asked, "Is this man the son of a runner?" but, "What feet has he here to run on himself?" Still the vicious theology and inadequate philosophy hindered our social development.

So things went on for fifty years, and during that time great changes were silently taking place. Revolution is a continual epidemic in America. I mean to say that is regular growth with us, which in Europe would be called a revolution. A change took place in our forms of industry which brought other changes with it. At first New England cultivated her poor soil, and took fish. Her exports were cattle from her soil, timber from her forests, and fish from her waters. Her manufactures were but little, though always surpassing those of the rest of the nation. Commerce was the only calling by which great fortunes could be accumulated.

The farmers were poor, the manufacturers not rich. Men with small means took to making "New England Notions"— paper, hats, iron ware, wooden ware and the like. There was no great accumulation of men or capital engaged in manufactures. The mechanics wrought each for himself. There was developed a great individuality of thought, a great freedom of character, a very stout manhood, not very much money. Boston was the centre of commerce; all the great fortunes were here. She was called the "Athens of America"— a commercial Athens, with a strong love for literature, not much for science. Philadelphia was the city of science, where Dr. Franklin and Dr. Rush kindled a scientific spirit. Boston was the town for letters. Here the ablest men, who had obtained the superior culture,— what colleges can give — went to some literary profession, were doctors, lawyers, ministers, writers, or politicians; they did not go to commerce or manufactures. After a time the general policy of America changed; for the South, who always hated the more prosperous North, sought to ruin our commerce by building up a protective tariff,— a work partly patriotic, wishing well to the nation; partly malignant, wishing ill to New England. But the New Englander kept his commercial action as before, but turned also to manufactures. Education had been widely diffused by the most blessed of our New England institutions,— the free school; and while the South, uneducated and idle, was importing slaves from abroad or breeding them at home, the thoughtful brain of New England created new forces out of the powers of nature; wind, water, fire, steam, electricity, became our servants. There is not a brook which runs down hill but turns a wheel. In the city the carpenter's chips do his own planing and sawing.

Nay, the baker buys coal-dust and turns it into a power which drives a mill, which in three minutes converts soft dough into hard and excellent ship-bread. New England grew richer by manufactures than by commerce. It was educated labor, free labor, which opened the broad lands of New York and the North West Territory, and relieved us from our ungrateful agriculture, and turned our thrifty hand to the mechanic arts. The tariff secured us a market at home; railroads and steamboats gave a new impetus to activity. The population crowded into towns, shortening their lives, increasing their wealth. Capitalists turned their attention from commerce to manufactures; great corporations wrought with joint money,— great companies with allied strength; there was an organization of dollars, and an organization of men. Great fortunes were accumulated, not only by commerce, but by manufactures also. The "Athens of America," which had been the mother city of commerce, became also the metropolis of mechanic art; and as a consequence Boston has rapidly increased to a hundred and sixty or seventy thousand men, while Worcester, Springfield, Lynn, Lowell, Lawrence, Manchester, and a hundred smaller towns, count their children by thousands. Improved machinery enables one man in his life to do more and accumulate more than five or six in past times in their life. This increased the amount of wealth in all New England. The houses, streets, food, carriages, the halls in which men meet for debate or worship, the school books, the musical instruments, the whole aspect of the people,— all shows this wide distribution and rapid increase of riches.

However, whilst many wrought in the employment of the few, as in manufacturing corporations, the

employer began to dictate to the operatives their theology,— what they should think about God, and their politics,— how they should vote. The overseer wished to set a pattern of theology, as well as for weaving, and to do the voting for the mill. The head of New England began to be a little turned by money. But our nature we cannot get rid of; the religious origin of New England still came up; a good deal of the old conscience was left, the old respect for individuality. The ablest men, however, who got the best education, no longer went to the professions or to literature; they turned their attention to business, and sought for money, only nothing else.

Once the pulpit, with its Bible, ruled New England, and everybody saw who the ruler was. It was a man with an old-fashioned hat, a wig, a staid, sober, respectable man. What he said on Sunday he was answerable for all the week. Everybody knew him. By and by the counting room, with its money, ruled New England; and the editor, with his anonymous criticism, advice, prophecy, often with his anonymous lie. There is this difference between being ruled by ministers and being ruled by editors — I recommend being ruled by neither — the minister stands in a place where he can be seen, and he is known, and is answerable for his opinion.

The editor is anonymous; and we are ruled by some penny-a-liner, whose opinion, were he seen in the broad day, no man would respect. It is often so, not always. All other professions became tributary to the mercantile; the lawyer, doctor, minister, the men of science and letters have become the cherubim and seraphim and the three archangels who stood before the golden throne of the merchant, and continually cried, "Holy, holy, holy is the Almighty Dollar!"

So things went on, and so came to pass in some fifty years. Take it all in all, it was a very great step of progress. Then sundry new elements got introduced to the consciousness of New England. A great development of science began to take place,— the study of material nature. Franklin began it, English books stimulated us to it, men with a natural tendency to geology, botany, astronomy, stirred the mind of New England in that direction. Literature began to be looked upon as an ornament, not a necessity; and men said it was only the fringe upon the garment of humanity. Suppose it is; if Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, are but fringes, if Liebnitz, Newton, Bacon, Kant, are but tassels — what do you suppose the great garment is, whereof these are only fringes and tassels? I rejoice in the application of science and the study thereof. In 1832 Dr. Spurzheim brought to America Gall's system of phrenology. It came at a time when the old traditional Calvinistic metaphysics had lost its power, and no comprehensive scheme of philosophy had taken its place. It coincided admirably with the sensational philosophy, which was the basis on which our superior education had rested — one step in the carrying out of that philosophy. It was brought by a man of great intellectual power, of remarkable philanthropy, of the most beautiful character and attractive disposition; and it gave a new impulse to the study of man's body, and of the material conditions on which life, health, happiness, and public and private virtue depend; and it was of very great service, for it caused attention to be drawn to the causes of sickness, crime, and vice, to the conditions of human health, long life, virtue and the like; and a great many valuable institutions are to be traced directly to

the fertile brain of that great-hearted German who brought another man's thought here. At a later day, within ten years, another very distinguished man, Mr. Agassiz, has come to give a further stimulus to this study of science. One day these two minds are to have a great influence in our development in America.

But a more spiritual philosophy began to take the place of the sensational, one not founded at all on the traditional claims of miraculous revelation, but on the spiritual nature of man himself. Here are the forces which aided in that great work:— the writings of Mr. Coleridge and Mr. Wordsworth; of Cousin, who so eloquently reports the thoughts of the great German thinkers; and still more the great German thinkers themselves, who are philosophers, theologians, historians, and Biblical critics. The old spiritual authors of England were reprinted here — though out of the market for a hundred years,— such as Ralph Cudworth and other spiritual thinkers from the bosom of the seventeenth century in England. So there rose a new school of metaphysical philosophy, and it agreed with the theological sects in this — *There is a spiritual element in man!* It differed from them by declaring that that spiritual element in man was not miraculous in its origin and development, but went normally to its work. While the church said " The Holy Ghost only is divine," these philosophers said " The Holy Spirit is also human." Here belong the writings of Dr. Channing, and, still more metaphysical, the masterly speakings and writings of Mr. Emerson. Here was a powerful force, that of ideas. It took a strong hold on man's mind, and its new activity appeared in the theological, the political, and the social forms as never before.

The old theology was rejected. Science annihilated the old theological earth; down went the theological heaven — every astronomer saw straight through it. Biblical criticism showed that the Bible was like other books — with good in it, to be accepted; evil in it, not to be taken. History showed that religion sprang up all around, that it was not the monopoly of the Jew nor the Christian; but was shared universally by the human race. Metaphysics demonstrated the religious and moral element in man, as imperishable as the intellectual or the affectional. Theology was no longer a mysterious science; it was like all other schemes of thought, amenable to human nature; and the theology of the churches was sent back to learn its lesson again, which it had so imperfectly boggled over. The truth of a doctrine was to be looked at, and not its Scriptural character only.

In the present century there have appeared in America two great ministers, who have had a remarkable influence. One was William Ellery Channing, who belonged to these more spiritual men, though he still clung to authority. He struck at the Samson of the ecclesiastical organizations, and brought down the trinity. The other was Hosea Ballou, a man who rested on the sensational philosophy, and wrought a work more important, deeper, and more widely extended even than Channing. Dr. Channing had a better philosophy and training, but whilst he brought down the trinitarian Samson, Father Ballou threw his stone into the Goliath of the church, into the doctrine of eternal damnation, and the giant lay there, his head cut off. Both of these rested on a miraculous authority.

But other men now go beyond them, and they are not content with the old Unitarian denial, they take hu-

man nature as their scripture, and teach positive doctrines respecting God and man, and the relation between them. The two old boats which I just spoke of would not hold half the passengers; so a new one is put upon the line, with a new and more spiritual philosophy. All doctrines are to be discussed on the plane of human nature. A new positive theology begins to appear, with doctrines based on human nature, legitimated on human reason, which approve themselves to the moral, the affectional and the religious sense. A deeper and wider scheme of morals springs out of the spiritual and moral nature of man, and new duties are recommended,— not in the name of selfishness, as the sensational philosophy taught, not in the name of revelation, as the old church scheme taught; but in the name of man. A new idea of God, wholly strange to the churches hitherto, is developed, of God as infinitely perfect; of religion as the normal use of every faculty of the body and spirit, every power we possess, of morality as a fact, not of revelation, but of consciousness, here intuitive, demonstrative there; the eternal life beginning now, religion not only to prepare for the future heaven, but making a present heaven now and here. The cloud of mystery rolls up from the theological fold, and there is left the beautiful arena of human life spread out before the human eye. Here is a revolution in theology greater than that wrought by Luther, greater than that of Jesus himself,— for the pole is shifted from the old theology to the nature of man, wherein God permanently incarnates and reveals his truth.

The new idea must take political form also. All men are of one race, human; distinction of color is noth-

ing; all are of one humanity, and distinction of nationality is gone. The question is not asked, "Where was a man born?" but, "Was he actually born anywhere?" If so, if born at all, he is born to human nature, with all the natural, essential and inalienable rights of humanity. Privileges are personal accidents; rights are of human nature, and exceptional privilege must give place to universal right. Then womankind is the equal of mankind,— diverse but equivalent; she has the same natural rights as man. Their spheres may be different, their bodily and mental organizations are dissimilar, but her individual freedom is equal to his, his to hers. So she must have the same social, political, ecclesiastical rights as man. Thus the new philosophy will affect all the relations of people with people, government with government, class with class.

The same ideas must affect society. Work is the coin in which everything is bought and sold, the consideration which mankind is to pay for what it wishes to get. In God's great shop, the universe of matter, mankind is to earn its own living; and so each man and woman. If not, then the living is at the expense of mankind. So work is to be the honorable business of each, and whoso is the most useful in the highest departments of service is the most honorable man; he who does the most good for mankind is the noble man, the object of reverence and veneration. All social institutions are amenable to men, men now living. A demoeratic Rhadamanthus is to sit in judgment on all institutions of the past. Society as a whole owes duties to each person. It is the military duty of the whole to defend the parts, so recognized in times of feudal violence; but in our industrial democracy, society owes

each person the means of life, on condition of such work as that person can perform. Hence grow up the almshouses of New England,— monuments of our benevolence, showing how far we have got on; monuments also of our lack of skill to organize men so that they shall feed themselves. Then there must be schools for all,— for each child not only has the right to military defence from violence, and personal defence from starvation, but also the right to a defence from ignorance, a right to such education as society can afford. Everything is gradual; first the right is only conceded to boys; the girls, as being of the inferior class, did not require it; then it is granted to the girls; then more and more, and so on indefinitely. Then jails must be places of correction, amendment and love, not of torment; the gallows must come down; imprisonment for debt must disappear; the state must open a kind eye to every discharged convict. Pains must be taken to prevent pauperism, ignorance, crime, drunkenness — which costs us more than all the fires and shipwrecks of property in all New England; this, which is to New England what slavery is to the south, must be checked, prevented and finally put down. The science of the age must be applied to life, to educate the mind, conscience, affections, and religious power, and make us comfortable, healthy, rich, virtuous, manly, happy. Even the old churches leave off for a time making such a fuss about the soul, and take care of the poor man's body, and all the denominations have gone to work in this humane direction. It is very curious to see how the transcendentalist, with his ideas and metaphysics, gathered from the study of the soul, and the physiologist, with his ideas and facts, gathered from the study of the body, work side by side at their great task of

love. Both are right; the physiologist learned the gospel from the body, as the metaphysician from the soul, and both preach the same gospel. So the phrenologist and the transcendentalist, wide as heaven and earth asunder, walk arm and arm through the streets of common life, and labor for the welfare of common humanity. Then attempts are made to reconstruct society on the principle of co-operative industry. New ideas of marriage spring from the new philosophy.

All these things look revolutionary. But it is revolution after a peaceful sort, in the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount. "Well," you say, "they come from Christianity." Very well, they come from the Christian religion, no doubt, not the Christian theology. The Christian religion,— it is human religion, love of God and love of man: the Christian theology,— that is Catholicism, Protestantism, Trinitarianism, Unitarianism, Universalism. These great ideas never came from that. They come from the great soul of human nature, animated and inspired by the Infinite God, out of which came the voice of prophets old, sibyls, poets, philosophers; from the bosom that bore Jesus of Nazareth,— child of God, son of man also.

Now you never excite one pole of the human battery but the other is also roused. In the last ten years in New England there has been a great development of selfish opposition to all these humane movements of the age. Call that opposition Hunkerism; call the opponents Hunkers,— who are of three denominations, the hunkers of theology, of politics and of society? Boston is the metropolis of hunkerism. Its suburbs,— Roxbury, Cambridge, Salem — are the tools of Boston, Boston their head; they do as it bids. Then its

vassal towns — Lowell, Lawrence, and a few others — are under overseers, and of course do as they are bid, or have continued to do so until by a spasmodic effort they freed themselves. Talk about the Catholics voting as the bishop tells! reproach the Catholics for it! You and I do the same thing. There are a great many bishops who have never had a cross on their bosom, nor a mitre on their head, who appeal not to the authority of the Pope at Rome, but to the Almighty Dollar, a pope much nearer home. Boston has been controlled by a few capitalists, lawyers and other managers, who told the editors what to say and the preachers what to think. Once Boston was liberal in theology, politics and social matters. Do not forget that underneath the Boston of 1850 and '55 there is a buried Boston of 1750, '65, '75; the Boston of James Otis and Samuel Adams underlies the Boston of Marshall Tukey.[2] The Boston of Belknap and Channing, who reached up towards the infinite God, is fifty years older than the Boston of Nehemiah Adams,[3] who defends the institution of slavery. We must remember this. How came it so? In 1830 Boston had sixty thousand inhabitants; now it has more than a hundred and sixty thousand. Many came from the country, able-bodied and able-headed men. They brought the Calvinistic theology with them, the illiberal theology which still broods over the hills and country towns. So there was an importation of theological hunkerism, which changed the character of the town. The illiberal denominations have grown apace, the liberal have been checked, within thirty years. Even the Unitarian churches have caught the malaria, and are worse than those who deceived them. The baneful influences of that material philosophy and ethics which destroy, here show themselves. While the

theological movement was only denial, many men entered into the new boat and became Unitarians and Universalists; but by and by, when new duty was demanded, they were offended, and said, "We left the old in order to escape from religion, but you demand it of us. Mr. Minister, you have killed your own devil, you cannot scare us any longer,"— the man appealed to miraculous authority —"your theology would not hold the devil, the trinity and eternal torment, and there is nothing plainer in the Bible than those things." That was the answer made by these men. In addition to that the culture of taste took the place of the culture of the soul and conscience. Beauty of dress, of speech, of house, coach, furniture,— this was put before the austere piety of womanhood and manhood; and conventional manners, very beautiful, made all men equally respectable, as a handsome dress is designed to make all men and women equally fair; and as dress is the vicarious atonement whereby ugliness hopes for salvation, so conventional manners were the atonement whereby vice hoped to appear as well as virtue. It takes place in all matters. Besides, money drew men away. Money, with social respectability, which is its consequence, was the great object of life. Moreover, the old source of permanent demoralization continued to corrupt the general government and its officers, and hence the merchants, editors, and of course the pulpits. So there grew up a mighty harvest of hunkerism. The reactionaries feared, as they knew no religion but that and the trinity, lest the people should lose all religion. Nobody feared for himself, each for his neighbor. Thence came hypocritical defences of the Bible by men who denied its universal truths, but who stood up and defended its letter. Hence came the

hatred of Channing, hence the attacks on Emerson — who has preached the gospel of humanity in words as fair as they are likewise true. Then they trembled at the application of the Christian religion to slavery. They wished to apply Christian theology to it till they turned dark in the face; they must never touch it with one of the fingers of the Christian religion. Hence the honor bestowed on every man in this city who loves slavery.[4] They hated the revision and amendment of the laws, and hence wished to retain the ugliest features of our old constitution,— imprisonment for debt, the gallows and the like. They were afraid lest property should be brought in peril as in Europe, forgetting that in Europe property stands on the wrong end of the pyramid. There is only one kind of property in America in any peril; that is property in man; everything else is safe, for it has a broad foundation. Most of all they are afraid of woman's emancipation; and so attempt to smother woman with kisses. No high school for girls! "There are so many pupils we cannot have a school, (that was the reason given)[5] and the more woman knows the less valuable she will be, and the less contented with her present condition. Educate a man, it improves his condition; but a woman only scolds and scowls." That was the statement. Men were afraid of Channing before he died, and cursed him by their Gods, because, taking his high ideas of humanity, he said, "There must be no drunkenness, pauperism must be done away with, we must free the slave." This is the cause of the hostility to Mr. Emerson and every brave, earnest minister who stands up his whole length and preaches the Christian religion, not the theology in that abused name.

That is the state of things in Boston, in New Eng-

land, this day. On the one side is presented as an ideal such a form of religion, such a deep and wide philosophy, as the world never saw nor dreamed of; such a philanthropy as knows no race, counts it the duty of genius to enlighten the common mind with science and piety, to heal and soothe and bless the sorrows of the suffering world, with a theology as broad as human nature, an idea of God as absolutely perfect, of man as the noblest child of God; with a magnificent future before him, to be wrought out by his own toil.

On the other side is the old theology, with its miraculous revelation, its vicarious salvation; the old philosophy, with nothing in the mind which was not first in the senses; the old politics, hostility between people and people; the old form of religion, with its angry God, its man totally depraved, its human history full of caprice, without purpose and without meaning.

These are the two antipodes between which we stand. Between these you and I are to shape our lives and form our characters. It is under these influences that you are to train up your children. Which will you serve? What do you wish to be? If you want the mere honor of men, to be put into office by Whigs, Democrats, Know Nothings; if you wish to be shamefully and monstrously rich, and have a very easy time and feed fat only your flesh,— it is plain what you are to do. You are to strike hands with all that is old, to believe as little as you can, pretend as much as possible, and live a mean and tawdry life. Verily, I say unto a young man, if he tries that, he shall have his reward. I have been so long an observer and have seen so many spectacles of this, that I could give great counsel, and tell the widest, straightest road to what I call the devil, to the ruin of manhood.

But if you wish to have a reasonable competence for reasonable work, an abundance for abundant work, a superfluity for extraordinary work, if you wish to be men and women, with God's image bright in you, and the same inspiration which flowered and bloomed so fragrantly into Jesus of Nazareth, and prophets and sibyls and poets of old times,— there is another thing to be done. Then you are to ask in your own soul, What is truest, what is sweetest, fairest, the most pleasing to God? and live it out in your life. You shall have what you need here, and hereafter the Infinite Mother's hand shall be laid upon you,— Come, my beloved son, inherit the good things prepared for you!

2

Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit.— MATTHEW vii, 17.

Last Sunday I said something of the condition of Boston and New England in respect to the fundamental principles of morals, aiming to show what were the great intellectual forces which had wrought hitherto in the development of this people who have settled New England and have had such a wide influence on the rest of the country. To-day I ask your attention to consider some of the present and ultimate consequences of this state of things. At present the condition is rather painful in many particulars.

Here are four great educational forces in the land which help form the character of the people; namely, the ecclesiastical action of the people, represented by the churches, with their theology, with their ministers and other persons who control the organization in the name of religion. Next is the political action of the people, represented by the state, federal or local, with its congresses, constitutions, laws, courts, offices, and so on. Third is the literary action of the people, represented by the press, the newspapers, quarterlies, monthlies, books, all sorts of things that get printed. Fourth, there is the industrial action, represented by business, agriculture, fishing, mining, manufactures, buying and selling, all forms of work not political, ecclesiastical or literary.

See the effect of this state of things on the ecclesiastical action,— for this, though subtle, is the most powerful of all; and if a mark is made in the church,

it is presently made everywhere else, for good or ill. Not many years ago the ministers were the ruling class of New England, and they long continued the most powerful class, using their influence as other men do, sometimes well, sometimes ill. They took the initiative in all measures that pertained to the church, or meant to do so, and in some other measures. The power which they exercised then came naturally enough, for the ablest men and best educated went to that calling. They had almost a monopoly of superior education, and all the early colleges founded in New England were dedicated to Christ and the church, not to business and what they called the world. And when you select the ablest men out of the community and give them the best education the community can afford, and put them in a place where they speak to men in the name of conscience and God twice every week, you see that they presently become exceedingly powerful. What added to their influence was this:— there were no newspapers, or but few, not many books, scarcely any public meetings, save on Sunday and church days, when only the ministers spoke; there were no lectures save what the minister gave and on theological subjects. Accordingly, the ministers became and continued the leading body of men. At first sight it seems a little strange that whilst the ablest men went to this calling, got the best education, had the widest swing, none to molest or make them afraid,— it seems a little surprising at first that none of the great ideas which have made America what it is came out of the minister's mouth. It is not surprising when you bestow a second thought on the matter, and remember that the minister was busy with his theology, not so much with piety or morality, not with science, the science of life,— but with appeasing

the wrath of God, with preparing man not to live here, but hereafter.

At that time there was not much doubt. Everybody was supposed to believe in the existence of the devil, in eternal damnation, in the doctrine of the trinity, and all the great church doctrines. A hundred years ago men selected the biggest tree in all the New England woods as the pillar for the meeting-house; they took great pains with the seasoning of the timber, to hew and groove and carve it into the proper shape, and then were long in putting it in place, and had it stand on a broad foundation, plumb and perpendicular. Then it stood a good while, and held up something; but now things have changed, and scarcely any tree is thought too little for that purpose, scarce any preparation and seasoning too small and short. Business has the first pick of the New England woods, the tallest trees,— if not the soundest, at least the stoutest; then politics gleans after it; next science and literature cull what suits them; and finally the church comes in for the leavings. There are exceptional men of power who go into the pulpit, but the general rule is what I state. Once the head of the college said to the half-dozen ablest men in the class, "You must become ministers; the Lord wants you, the church needs you,— come!" and they went. Now the friends of the young man say, "You have too much talent for the ministry; you had better buy and sell, be a machinist, engineer, sailor, merchant, farmer, blacksmith." What an odds!

Beside that, the means of education are now widely spread, through schools and colleges. Lectures on the most important matters get delivered by the ablest thinkers that New England bears, and who have the

most astonishing power of speech wherein to set forth their thought. Newspapers go everywhere; we have more elaborate journals of our own, of science and letters, and the five ablest from old England are reprinted here and go everywhere. Business forces the people to think; and the consequence is a very wonderful enlightenment of the understanding of the people. The minister is no longer the ablest man by nature or culture, and where everything is left free his position becomes less and less authoritative. He cannot enforce his words by his own authority: he no longer dares say, "I say the thing is so, and therefore you must believe it!" If he does say, "I say it is so!" when the minister is not a man powerful by nature or culture, or training to long thought, who is there that submits to his dictation? No man.

With the general enlightenment there comes doubt of the theological doctrines of the trinity, of hell, and of the infallible Scripture. The minister said at first, "All morality and religion depend on the miraculous revelation. Beside that there is nothing but the materialistic philosophy," the sensational, which I spoke of last Sunday,— "and that," quoth he, "does not justify religion, not even morality, not a belief in the immortality of man's soul." He says, "If you leave the miraculous Bible aside, then the mind of man is nothing but a refuge of lies, and you land you know not where, and you are sure to perish."

But the old theology was weakened. Men would not accept the miraculous revelation they had been bred to, and outside of that there was no foundation for religion and morality which they assented to. Calvinism frightened men into some reverence for the law of

God which was laid down in the Bible and forced them to believe that it was laid down nowhere else. But when the Unitarian and the Universalist wrenched the two-edged sword of the trinity and hell from the hand of Calvinism, then men began to doubt whether the Bible — which had taught as revelation the trinity and eternal damnation — was a good authority or an absolute refuge for anything whatsoever. So these men who moved out of the Calvinistic meeting-house went over to the shop of the sensational morals, as taught by Mr. Paley, and there everything was for sale, and virtue was the doing certain things for the sake of happiness here, if you could get it, and the certainty of happiness hereafter; it was not doing what was right because it was right and in obedience to the great God whose word right is. Last Sunday I spoke of the sensational philosophy, and showed its beginning and what it led to. Mr. Paley incorporated into a book, admirably written, the morals which come of this. That was made the text book of morals in almost all the colleges and high schools and other seminaries of education in New England; and the pernicious influence of the thing is as apparent to-day, to a man who looks for such things, as the pavements in the streets, or the bricks in the houses. From that state of things there follows a profound demoralization of the three great educational forces, the ecclesiastical, the political and the literary action of the leading sects, the leading parties, the leading literature, commercial or political, yes, of the great merchants also, merchant traders and merchant manufacturers. Worship of the almighty dollar is taking the place of worship of the Calvinistic God. Let me show how this demoralization appears.

I said last Sunday that at the formation of the

American Constitution, one source of permanent demoralization was left,— slavery. That is a denial of the first principle of American politics, the equality of all men is their natural right; a denial also of the first principle of Christian religion, which is to love your neighbor as yourself; not of the Christian theology, which is salvation without works. It is a denial of the first principle of human morality, which says render to all their due, justice to every man. For the last thirty years this institution of slavery has been the touch-stone to prove the character of institutions and men. The slaveholders wished to extend it; it was supposed to be for their pecuniary and political interest to do so, a part of the worship of the dollar. But as slavery was a violation of the natural law of God and the principles of the Christian religion, of natural morality and Christianity — so far as that is religion,— these must be shoved aside. So the leading politicians declared, "There is no law of God above the statute of the land." Then as a second thing, "Religion has nothing to do with politics." The leading men of business added a third dogma, "Religion has nothing to do with business." The political and commercial journals added a fourth oracle, "Religion has nothing to do with the press, or literature, or science." Such declarations as these would not have been possible a hundred years ago, when the old Calvinistic theology was in full force. What if men had said these things under the guns of such marksmen as Edwards and Hopkins, who had the artillery of Calvinism at their command. When men believed there was a devil and felt sure of eternal damnation, nobody dared say there was no higher law of God. What makes it worse is, the leading sects of Christians fell in with this four-

fold iniquity. Sometimes they silently acquiesced, and let the falsehood go, nobody opposing it; sometimes they protected these doctrines openly, and very often laid down principles which led to this conclusion, knowing very well what they did as they uttered it. So there followed a profound demoralization of the great theological sects; of the great parties, with their politicians, their courts, their judges, their offices; a great demoralization of the leading journals and much other literature; and likewise of the leading men of business. It is painful to say this, and it may sound harsh; but I doubt if in the last five years you could have found anywhere in the least civilized parts of Christendom these four modes of action more deeply demoralized than they have been here.

Two things show this demoralization with painful fidelity. When the fugitive slave bill passed Congress in 1850, though everybody who had a thought in his head and a heart in his bosom knew it was unconstitutional, and every simplest man knew it was at variance with God's constitution of the universe, yet the chief sects said not one word against it. The chief leaders of these sects said, "Men must obey the law,— conscience say what it may — the statute must be kept!" I do not know how many men declared there was nothing in Christianity which was hostile to American slavery, or hostile to the fugitive slave bill; they meant there was nothing in what they called the Christian theology hostile to it; but they were understood to mean, and meant to be understood to mean, there was nothing in the Christian religion. It is painful to refer to the examples of those men whom I have so often held up before you in this place; their words and conduct is familiar

enough. When men were kidnapped at New York and Boston, prominent ministers in their pulpits lifted up their hands, and in prayer thanked God that that wicked deed had been done. You know the conduct of the courts, federal and state, of the leading newspapers, commercial and political, the leading merchants of New York and Boston, of the leading colleges throughout New England. That is one of the two things proving the point.

Next, when Mr. Webster died, more than a hundred and fifty sermons were printed which represented him as a model Christian, a man after God's own heart. The profligacy of his private life, surpassed only by the utter demoralization of the latter part of his public career, did not take down one jot or title of the perfect Christian character ascribed to him in these productions. Dr. Franklin has a bad reputation in the American churches; Dr. Channing had this benediction from orthodox newspapers when he died — that doubtless he went to the place of eternal torment to punish him for the sin of denying that Jesus of Nazareth was the Jehovah who had existed forever and ever, and who made earth and heaven. But Mr. Webster was placed by the American church in the niche of sainthood far higher than was claimed for Franklin or Channing, or all the philanthropists who have blessed the land. These facts prove the profound demoralization of these four forces.

We had relied on the American church to rebuke the sin of the nation; but no church was ever falser, I think, than the American in 1850, '51 and '52. I confess this amazed me, this growth of what I call hunkerism; but what I said last Sunday traces very clearly the growth of that plant to the seed deposited in the soil, and I am

now astonished that I was astonished then, and wonder that I did not see what is now so clear in cause, process and result. Pardon me that I understood my calling so ill, and had observed so poorly, not seeing the consequence in the cause, and the fruit in the seed.

That is the present consequence of this state of things. But the ultimate consequence of this state, the influence of the introduction of these new ideas of God, of man, and of the relation between the two,—that is likewise clear enough. It is easy to foresee what the results will be a hundred years hence, or a thousand; it is not hard to foresee what they will be fifty or twenty-five years hence. All those great truths which I mentioned last Sunday will incarnate themselves in new institutions, new tools for forming a higher mode of human character, and so prepare for a wider diffusion of human welfare of a nobler quality. I mean to say there is now in process of formation a higher ideal of manly and womanly character than was ever set afloat before the vision of men, and in due time it will produce an actual character corresponding to itself.

See how in two hundred years other great truths in the bosom of New England have gendered institutions like themselves. They have produced a church without a bishop, a state without a king, a community without a lord, a family without a slave. Two hundred years ago, nay, one hundred years ago, it was a dream only but no fact anywhere. These new truths will have a similar victory; each one is bound to triumph. There will be a period of strife where the new truth contends with the old error, then a period of victory of the new truth. Then there will be another period of new truths

fighting against the errors which you and I cannot see; new truths which our poor eyes cannot get vision of will come above the horizon, a higher ideal than we dream of take the place of ours, to spread itself into actuals, ever greater, ever new. It may seem a little bold to state this so confidently, a little rash to undertake to demonstrate it by ideas alone. See then how it is illustrated in facts which have already been and which we are sure of.

See it first in theological matters. At first there was no toleration at all in New England. Boston hanged five Quakers, one of them a woman, nailed up the door of the Baptist meeting-house, drummed Episcopalians out of town, drove Ann Hutchinson from the colony, because the woman dared to think higher than any of the ministers was able to go. You and I are rather more dangerous than Quakers, Baptists, Episcopalians, and Ann Hutchinson; but there is nobody to molest nor make us afraid; toleration is absolute. The speculative atheist may come and teach his speculative atheism, just as the practical atheist is at liberty to practice his. At first the Bible must not be read in any New England pulpit. "Our Father" must not be repeated in the pulpit's prayer,— three-quarters of an hour long; the minister might wander all over creation in his prayer, and into any little nook of private gossip or particular sin, but never pass into that Garden of Eden of prayer which we call the Lord's Prayer. Now a man reads the Bible from the pulpit, prays as he has the spirit, quotes what he likes from Bible or Koran. Once it was a capital offence in Massachusetts to deny the trinity, and for a long time a Universalist was not allowed his oath in court, and he was thrust out of what is called respectable society; it was not thought decent

to doubt eternal damnation; the law of Massachusetts threatened the gallows to anybody who should deny the divine origin of any book of the New Testament or the Old. Now the two hundred Universalist ministers in Massachusetts and the three or four hundred in New England, are powerful enough to wring a Doctor of Divinity from the hard hands of the most conservative college in New England. A Cambridge professor of Harvard University declares in public print that there is not a line in the Old or New Testament that can be considered the word of God.[6]

Who disbelieve in the existence of the devil, who hate the doctrine of eternal damnation, and all those other peculiar doctrines of the Calvinistic theology? What is more, these are the most religious men in the orthodox churches, who love God the most sincerely, and men with the deepest, heartiest piety. In theology, the party with a new truth has always carried the day. It is not a hundred years since lads coming to Boston to serve an apprenticeship had this written in their indentures, "The boy is not to be allowed to attend the preaching of Dr. Mayhew," [7]—the stoutest and ablest minister that trod the soil of New England for a hundred years. Dr. Mayhew was the father of the Unitarians, and never saw the children born after his death. Soon as the Unitarian sect deserved empire it took it; and when the Unitarian minister has no more to say, the sceptre very properly passes into the hands of other men. I said last Sunday that illiberalism had come to town and prevails. Wait a little while and see what else illiberalism comes to. It will pass away. There has been a great theological battle fought, and the new truth has gained the victory. No ten Orthodox ministers who

have lived in the United States ever produced such a wide, deep, and lasting influence as Dr. Channing and Hosea Ballou; no ten have made a mark so deep as either of these two men — one by Unitarianism, the other with the doctrine of eternal salvation at the last for all men.

A great progress likewise appears politically. At first only church-members could vote; next only freeholders; then only whoso had sixty pounds. Now every man who is out of jail and out of the almshouse may vote. You see plainly what will become of the claim of woman to vote. It once sounded as ridiculous to allow any man to vote who was not a freeholder as now for a woman to say she will not be taxed unless represented. In the time of the Revolution there was a British party who went for British measures,— social rank and aristocracy. The old governor of the colony had never heard of that "brace of Adamses." If he had lived long enough, he would have seen where they went to, and who they took along with them. But the Tories went to the bottom, while the Patriots swam. After the Revolution another party closely akin wanted a more arbitrary government; some wanted a strong central government, others a limited monarchy; others an aristocracy, some a president for life, with a senate chosen for life, the president to appoint the governors of the several states, each governor to have an absolute veto on any laws passed by the general court. What a state of things that would have been! How these men hated the popular vote, election by the people! One of the prominent men of Massachusetts said publicly he would trust an appointment to office to luck, rather than to a vote of the people. Said this man, one of the wisest and most respectable, "I would

rather take at random the tallest or the shortest, the oldest or the youngest, the fattest or the leanest, the brownest or the fairest, rather than trust to the popular election for a governor, senate, representatives to Congress, or selectmen in my own town." These were the men of property and standing who said this. But the tories after the Revolution walked the same plank which the tories before the Revolution had trod. There must be not an aristocracy, but a democracy; a government of all the people, of course; but by all the people, for all the people,— that is, a progressive democracy. Every year the people got more and more power. It is seventy-five years since the Constitution of Massachusetts was formed; in every twenty-five years see what a great advance has been made,— the people getting more and more power, and holding it in their hands.

Socially the same progress has been attained. At first there was a distinction between gentle and simple; only the gentleman had the title of Mr. Gentility rested on an immovable foundation of rock — descent from a famous family. Now it rests on a movable basis, on money, on office,— things attainable by all. Once birth from a distinguished family was the vicarious atonement for want of manhood, and distinguished birth made all men equally honorable and respectable. Now it is money which accomplishes all this, which has this advantage over birth, that it can be acquired by every individual — whereas a man born once, being born forever, could not rectify that matter. Now the object is to acquire, as once it was to inherit. All the families in New England, prominent for money to-day, were poor in the last generation; three-quarters of them were poor in this generation. They are

ashamed of the fact, no doubt; they should be proud that their respectability, based on money, was so recently won, won by commerce, by manufactures and by hard toil. A great social warfare has gone on all along, and the new truths carried the day,— not in every skirmish, possibly not in every great battle, but in every campaign. See what a change, for example, has taken place in the amusements of the people. Not long ago the popular sports were shooting live animals; men shot turkeys in winter, and boys blackbirds in spring; it was the greatest sport. Now that has given away to musical concerts, the opera and the like. There are those before me who remember the whipping-post in Boston and Worcester. Some of you have seen men branded with a red-hot iron, others whose ears were cropped by the order of the Boston court. Imprisonment for debt — how common it was but a very few years ago! There was more hanging in Massachusetts when she had only forty thousand children, than now, when she has a thousand thousand.

Schools for girls are of recent birth. Hospitals, asylums for all denominations of the unfortunate, have come in my time, within the memory of what are called middle-aged men. Here too was a battle; but victory has always perched on the banners of the faithful and true. Christian theology comes off beaten in every fight; Christian religion triumphs out of every skirmish. Once baptism was provided at the public cost of Boston, and it was requisite for entrance to the town meeting, as nobody could vote without his certificate of baptism and church-membership. Now vaccination is provided by the town, and no one goes into the public school without being fortified against

the smallpox; and though Boston has all Cochituate [8] at its disposal, it gives baptism to no child of man.

All this demonstrates what human nature plainly foretells. The future will be like the past,— and that is a progress. Each new truth will produce new institutions to bless mankind with more manly and womanly virtue. It is not at all difficult, therefore, to see what will follow ultimately. In New England we have not so good institutions for training scholars as in France, England, or Germany; we cannot educate artists and musicians so well as Europe. Accordingly, scholarly and artistic men must wander abroad for their highest culture. This is no reproach; we are too young as yet to provide the apparatus for making finished scholars, painters, sculptors and musicians. But we have the best institutions in the world for educating the mass of mankind. Accordingly, while inferior to Europe in science and art, while we must import beauty and demonstration from abroad,— we have yet got the mass of the people better educated in their understanding than any other mass of men in the whole world. What makes this more important is that this is true not only of the men, but of the women also. In the old European countries the great body of the women pass most of their life toiling in the field, and they get very little culture of the higher faculties, even of the understanding. Here this is inverted. But in order to do justice to this theme, I should need a whole sermon, and not merely a paragraph. Then too, while this fourfold demoralization of the pulpit, politics, business, and the political and commercial press of the country, has been going on, there has been a progressive moralization of the whole

people. The legislation of New England shows it, and all those institutions which I have just spoken of have been achieved in spite of that four-fold evil influence. At one end of society — I call it the extreme left — there is a body of men with very little property, education or morality, very far behind the rest. At the other end — which I will call the extreme right — is another body of men with a good deal of money, intellectual culture, conventional manners, good taste, but with very little of moral and religious development. One is the extreme left, the other the extreme right; one makes the fugitive slave bill, the other is the "marshal's guard" which enforces it. But the great body of the people, the centre of our American line, is composed mainly of men who love truth and justice, and who have a moral development a little in advance of their intellectual.

Now the first result of the popular education of the people and this great expansion of the means of enlightenment and power to use it with complete freedom, is the rapid increase of riches, the multiplication of the means of doing much work in little time, and the consequent increase and wide diffusion of wealth. That is a beautiful spectacle. The thinking head is the best machine in the world, the father of all other machines. The next result is this increase of intellect, which will help produce higher forms of character, and so higher forms of life. And here is a mighty future before us. The old theological institution must perish; I mean what is false in it, those five ideas, of God, of man, of the relation between them, of inspiration and salvation; — they must go where pope and pagan have long since gone. There is a great battle now going on. There are two parties,— men of prog-

ress, with new ideas, and the desire for more and better; reactionaries, who cling to the old and refuse to advance the way others go. Once the Unitarians and Universalists belonged to the movement party, and they have done great service. But they have now danced out their music; they occupy the floor, and are trying to dance the old figure backwards, but forbid all new music and new steps. But men have been born in the Unitarian and Universalist house who have left it and built another house of their own. Every denomination has new men, new ideas. Doubt peers into the most orthodox meeting-house. All the old pulpits trodden by theological feet are yet worm-eaten with new inquiries. Some only doubt the old, and get nothing new to take its place; but most men find some comfort in the new theology which comes from human nature, and in passing from the old house they do not step out of doors, but into the new house built on the imperishable rock of human nature.

Between these two parties there is a strife. A crack runs through all the churches of New England,— not broad yet, but very deep, and getting wide. The new party press on, often with many faults, lack of reverence, scorn of the past, neglect of excellent things in the old; — it is so easy to renounce all when a part is bad, to push the Bible aside, to refuse to be instructed by the truth which it contains because there is error in it! But the old theology seeks to go back further and further. In old England the most spiritual part of it went to Puseyism, thence to Romanism. In New England the Unitarians go back to Orthodoxy, but it only widens the breach. Each army rallies about its special banner. Not long since it was the Unitarians'

boast that they had no denominational creed; now it is their boast that they have one — one of the weakest and poorest of all creeds which have been made, a qualified belief in next to nothing.[9] Once it was their boast, and the Universalists' also, that they took only piety and morality for the essentials of Christianity; now a belief in the miraculous authority of the Bible seems to be their sine qua non. This reactive tendency is most strong in the great centres of commerce, strongest of all in the churches of commerce, and with men who have done the very least for this world. They who do nothing for actual righteousness must have the word on their lips; they do well therefore to preach at least imputed righteousness. This belief in the old is the veil let down over the face of Mammon. While the worshipper sees writ thereon in golden letters, Savior, Redeemer, Christ, Miracle, Atonement, Bible, Salvation,— he does not see that it is Mammon behind it which he is worshipping. This new orthodoxy is the incense which the Unitarian and Universalist high priest of commerce is offering to the golden calf set up in the church of commerce, in the great metropolis of commerce. When hypocrites do this let it be laughed at and pointed at; but when done by earnest, reverent and self-denying men, let us respect their motive while we practice not their measure.

Just now the ministers of the north have lost favor in respect to the great sins of the age, and especially in respect to slavery. I suppose also that they feel a little remorse. What must be done? They must make some amend. So the Unitarian must have prayer meetings like the Orthodox. The prayer meeting corresponds with the Orthodox idea; it is false and at variance with the Unitarian idea; but if the Uni-

tarian will not practice morality, he must pray for spirituality. The Orthodox, who are in a similar condition, seek to recover their ground by the Bible. Twenty or twenty-five years ago a great storm of revival swept over all the North, with disastrous effects, as I think. I watched it carefully in Boston in 1831 and '32, and since that I have seen the uprooted trees in many parts of New England. Now the experiment is repeated, and theological newspapers report great revivals in the churches — the Lord pouring out his holy spirit, accessions, baptisms, and the like. They do not report any increase of brotherly love, any growth of honesty, of intelligence, of charity, of personal purity,— because it is not human righteousness which they aim to revive; it is only to lay hold of the imputed righteousness; not to make earth heaven, but to carry more persons the other side. But this revival will not succeed now as before, for the popular belief in this is weakened, by the general enlightenment of the people, through the study of literature, history, science, and still more by what is called the spiritual manifestations,— for if a man can make miracles in his own house he can scarcely be expected to place much reliance on those imported from the other side of the flood. This cholera of revivals will doubtless come again and again, but like the Asiatic will be weaker each time, will involve fewer people in its destruction, as men learn how to escape it. This theology is doomed to perish; the next twenty-five years will make a mightier change in it than the last fifty have done.

Now the question is not between the old theology and no faith, no belief in immortality or the providence

of God; the question is between the old and new one, which gives you a loftier idea of God and man, of man's duty and destination, not only hereafter but here. When God is represented as lovely, immortality attractive, duty natural, and religion reasonable, you will not find that men will turn away from it at all. The Christian theology is sure to go to pieces; the Christian religion will last forever and ever,— because it is human religion built on this imperishable foundation which God has laid in the nature of man himself. Then there will follow great changes in man's material and social condition. There will be a yet greater abundance of wealth, created by honest industry, more widely diffused abroad than ever before. A wider scheme of education will diffuse the ideas of the most enlightened men far more widely than now, and much better culture of the mass of the people will take place; schools, libraries, lectures, reading-rooms, galleries of pictures and sculpture, and concerts, will be multiplied and produce their beautiful influence everywhere. These will help enlighten, refine and elevate the great mass of men, who are already so much enlightened in their understanding. Then the superior education of a select class of the people will be vastly different from what it is now,— not barely of the understanding, but of the affections, the conscience and the religious power also. The old sensational philosophy has made its mark on our culture: the higher spiritual philosophy is likewise to produce its sweet and blessed influence.

This increase of wealth and of wisdom, the diffusion of science, directed by the greater morality and religion of the people, will go to produce other institutions which will ensure to all men the conditions of wealth, long life, sobriety, manliness and womanliness.

Drunkenness, it is plain, is doomed also to perish; it will be long doubtless before we furnish ourselves with the best possible means of annihilating it. Slavery must be abolished. The elevation of woman is sure to follow, and this is the greatest practical reformation before the people; and when she is recognized as the equivalent of man in her individual, social, political, domestic and ecclesiastical rights, most beautiful results will follow: that dreadful vice of cities will end,— for like slavery it rests on the idea that its victim is an inferior being; and what a change in society, in the state and in the church, when the feminine element walks side by side with the masculine! Then what new beauty, new force, will there be in the community,— for men and women will be not only better bred, but also better born.

Then a reconstruction of society will follow. Co-operative industry must one day take the place of selfish antagonism. Such a society will follow as Jesus of Nazareth had a forefeeling of, one which shines through his Sermon on the Mount, yes, through the poetic hopes of mankind for many an age, prophesying the good time coming.

A great battle is to be fought. It is to be fought here at least in New England, for here the two extremes meet in closest contact, in sternest strife. It is a noble opportunity offered to you and me. No doubt it is a period of great danger; liberty may become license, neglect of the old form may lead to abandonment of the universal substance. The vice, that will be transient; the gain will be forever. The opportunity for noble life was never so attractive as now. What contributions to humanity you and I may

make! Every truth that any man utters is eternal; nay, every excellence of character, of actions, of feeling, which we bring to light,— it will last forever; it is not barely the private property of Hannah and William, but it spreads abroad from one man to another, until at last, like the grass on the ground, or the air above it, it will go round the whole world. You and I, when we die, carry to heaven in our spirits' breath the flavor of the fruit we have planted, reared and fed on; but its seed remains here to be the parent of forests yet to be born.

To-day is the seventeenth of June. Eighty years ago this hour our fathers crossed their swords with a great and mighty empire. They were defeated in that fight. Look now, and see the pillar of stone which points to heaven and chronicles our fathers' deeds on the spot once wet with their defeated blood. But see the triumph of the truth which brought our fathers there, and on this day can any man doubt of the triumph of our principles? There are millions behind us; we can leave for them theological institutions full of great truths — the God of infinite perfection, man with a glorious nature and commensurate destination; we can leave a state based on justice; a society full of industry, temperance, purity, noble manhood; and a church of natural religion, worshipping the Infinite God by the normal use of every limb of the body, every faculty of the spirit, every portion of power we possess over matter, over mind. This is sure to come! You and I are not called upon to be martyrs for this cause, only called upon to be evangelists and apostles, to receive our blessing as we go on, and leave it manifold to those who shall follow in our path.

NOTES

NOTES

TRANSCENDENTALISM

It is not known when this lecture was written, nor is it known where or how often it was delivered. It was published in pamphlet form (24mo, 39 pages) about February 1, 1876, by the Free Religious Association, Boston. It was No. 4 of the "Free Religious Tracts" issued at that time. The "preliminary note" was probably written by William Channing Gannett, editor of the series, and was as follows: —

"Who were the 'New England Transcendentalists,' and what was the new wine that filled them full of its enthusiasm, a generation ago? Ralph Waldo Emerson, George Ripley, Mr. Alcott, Margaret Fuller, Theodore Parker and the rest,— many of our fathers can name their names, but it might be harder to answer the other question and tell what they believed. No one can tell that better than Theodore Parker himself, who was the *Paul* of the movement,— its most doctrinal interpreter, its systematic theologian, its most ardent missionary. Much of him that would be welcomed by the world lies buried in the hieroglyphics of his manuscript, only readable by eyes that learned to love him in his life-time. This essay on transcendentalism in contrast with sensationalism, now for the first time printed, has been rescued from the burial, because it is so clear-cut an account of the two great rival philosophies as viewed by the band of which he was the champion; a champion not blind to the dangers of his own nor to the good achieved by the opposite system, but so thorough-going in his loyalty that even Bishop Berkeley and Jonathan Edwards stand to him for arch-sensationalists.

" Save a few slight amendments or omissions where some sentence is imperfect in the manuscript or past finding out, the lecture is printed as written in 1850 or thereabouts, with all the time-marks left in; the reference, for instance, to the politics then reigning in the North and South. As plain a time-mark, too, is the necessary estimate of the sensational philosophy by its earlier and barer, not its more recent and deepening statement. Probably a tract presenting the beliefs of this new school of sensationalism will also be issued by the Free Religious Association."

The reference here is to the philosophy growing out of Darwinism and the theory of evolution. Parker's relations to this later sensationalism will be mentioned in these notes in considering his sermons on the revelations of matter and mind. The promised tract on the newer sensationalism was not published by the Free Religious Association.

Page 12, note 1. " Systeme de la natur " was written by Baron Paul H. T. Holbach, and published anonymously in 1770. It has been called the " Bible of Naturalism."

Page 13, note 2. Calhoun rejected the theory of natural rights, also equality of all men, and the social contract. He said that liberty is a privilege, also that the negro is at the lowest point in the scale of human beings. Another of his assertions, in Congress, was that no Southern man will submit to perform menial duties. He likewise declared that " there has never yet existed a wealthy and civilized society in which one portion of the community did not, in point of fact, live on the labor of the other." Dr. Cooper of South Carolina, a disciple of Calhoun, in his " Political Economy," said: " The universal law of nature is force. By this law the lower animals are subdued to man, and the same law governs the relations between men."

Page 22, note 3. This statement is not wholly true

in regard to Rousseau, whose religion had many striking resemblances to that of Parker. Rousseau claimed to know God and to be assured of immortality because these truths were indelibly stamped on his heart. He appealed to the sentiment of the divine as in itself a revelation. In the "Savoyard Vicar" he wrote, "Let us consult the inner light." He was in part, at least, a transcendentalist. He gave power to feeling rather than to intuition, in this differing from Parker. His teaching, as passed on to Kant, Schleiermacher, and others, reached Parker in a largely modified form; and yet both men placed a great emphasis on sentiment as a basis for religious truth.

ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS AND RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS

This sermon was written in May, 1854, and was preached at that time. It was also preached May 19, 1855, at the opening of the Progressive Friends' Meeting House at Longwood, Penn. It was printed in the "Proceedings of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends held at Longwood, near Kennett Square, Chester County, fifth month, 1855." In that pamphlet it appeared with this title: "A Discourse on the Relation between Ecclesiastical Institutions and the Religious Consciousness of the American People. Delivered at the First Opening of the Progressive Friends' Meeting House, at Longwood." It has not appeared in any American edition of Parker's works, but was printed in the third volume of Miss Cobbe's edition, entitled "Discourses of Theology."

At the opening of the Meeting-House at Longwood Joseph A. Dugdale participated, and Oliver Johnson made a brief statement of the causes which led to the erection of the house. After singing by the Hutchinson family, Parker was introduced. "For more than

two hours," says the official report, " he held the close and unwearied attention of the assembly." It is also stated that his discourse was " replete with great truths eloquently expressed."

The " Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends " was a result of the anti-slavery agitation, and especially of the organization of the American Anti-slavery Society in Philadelphia during the year 1833. The Kennett Monthly Meeting and the Western Quarterly Meeting of the Hicksite or Unitarian division of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting heard anti-slavery lecturers, and a partial separation began in 1845. The other reforms agitating the liberal men and women of that day also obtained a large hearing. The result was that in 1853 a call was issued for " a general religious conference with the view to the establishment of a Yearly Meeting in Pennsylvania " on a broader basis. The purpose of the conference was set forth in the call: —

" The various religious denominations in the land are arrayed against the progressive spirit of the age, and by their very structure, assumptions and regulations, cannot occupy a co-operative position, because they impose fetters upon freedom of speech and of conscience, by requiring a slavish conformity in matters of abstract faith and sectarian discipline. This has led and is leading to extensive secessions from such organizations in all parts of the country, leaving the seceders generally in a scattered and isolated condition, whose talents, influence and means might be profitably concentrated for the advancement of the world-embracing cause of human brotherhood, and who are yearning for some form of association at once simple, free and attractive. . . .

" The Society of Friends has been a theatre of agitation for years, growing out of ecclesiastical domination on the one hand, and the demand for practical right-

eousness on the other; a domination entirely at variance with the spirit of primitive Quakerism, seeking to suppress free thought and to exclude from membership those whose lives are without blemish, whose example in word and deed is as a burning and shining light, and who are seeking to know and do the will of God at whatever sacrifice; a domination which has been deemed so intolerable that in the States of New York, Ohio and Michigan Yearly Meetings have been formed, two of which have taken the name of Congregational Friends, and two others that of Progressive Friends, and which invite to membership 'all those who look to God as a Universal Father and who regard as one brotherhood the whole family of man?"

The call expressed the belief that "a society may be formed recognizing the progressive element which will divorce religion from technical theology." The first meeting was held at the Meeting-House in Old Kennett, May 22, 1853. It was successful, largely attended, and the necessary organization was effected. In 1854, after the meeting had been in session for two days, the house was closed against the Progressive Friends, and the gathering then assembled in a neighboring hall. The result was that in 1855 a new meeting-house was erected and dedicated. It took the name of Longwood from that of an adjacent farm, on a part of which the house was erected. The call for this year defined clearly the purposes and the spirit which actuated the builders in the opening of a new house of worship.

"The chief characteristic of the Progressive Friends, by which they are distinguished from nearly every other religious society, is seen in the fact, that they prescribe no system of theological belief as a test of membership, but invite to equal co-operation all who regard mankind as one brotherhood, and who acknowledge the duty of showing their faith in God, not by assenting

to the lifeless propositions of a man-made creed, but by lives of personal purity and a hearty devotion to the welfare of their fellow-men. Slavery, intemperance, war, capital punishment, the denial of the equal rights of woman, oppression in all its forms, ignorance, superstition, priestcraft and ecclesiastical domination — these, and such as these, are the evils and sins which they feel constrained to assail by every rightful and legitimate weapon; while they seek to promote every virtue that can adorn humanity, and to foster those immutable principles of justice, mercy and love, which alone can secure the peace, progress and happiness of all the children of God. To all those whose hearts incline them to engage in a work so transcendently important and sublime, we say, Come and aid us by your sympathies, aspirations and counsels, and by the consecration thereto of your noblest powers."

At the Longwood Yearly Meeting addresses were given by prominent anti-slavery and reform speakers. Garrison attended several sessions and took an active part. Such reformers as Lucretia Mott were deeply interested. Most of the more radical Unitarians preached at one or more of the meetings. Correspondence with the Michigan, Ohio and Indiana Yearly Meetings continued until the opening of the Civil War; and also with local meetings at Waterloo and North Collins, New York. The most prominent of the clerks in charge of the arrangement and management of the meetings were Oliver Johnson, Richard A. Dugdale, Charles D. B. Mills, Rev. Charles G. Ames, and Rev. Frederick A. Hinckley, at succeeding periods.

At these meetings it was the custom for many years for the clerks to present a " declaration of sentiments," setting forth the general purposes of the meetings and the attitude of the Progressive Friends towards the religious and social life of the time. This was followed by " testimonials," prepared by a special committee,

which briefly discussed current questions in the light of the convictions of those present. These questions were usually of a practical nature, though such topics as Spiritualism and sectarianism, religion and spiritual culture were considered. Other topics were slavery, caste, marriage, education in its various phases, temperance, tobacco, treatment of criminals, capital punishment, amusements, kindness to animals, parentage, claims of children, peace, war, Indians, labor and capital, Sunday observance, and many others. Both the declaration of sentiments and the testimonials were discussed at length, and the meeting made such changes in them as brought them into conformity with the opinions of those present, as expressed by a general vote on their adoption as "the sense of the meeting."

Parker attached himself warmly to the Progressive Friends at Longwood. He was invited to attend the meeting of 1853, as were Garrison, Samuel J. May, Gerrit Smith, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Cassius M. Clay, and others. In reply to the invitation Parker sent the following letter:

BOSTON, 2d May, 1853.

"*Dear Friends:* I rejoice in your movement for real religion. It seems strange that men make such a mystery of religion, when itself is so simple. There is only one religion in the world; it consists of two elements, namely: Piety, the love of God, the poetic element, purely internal; and Morality, the keeping of the natural laws of God for body and soul, in all departments of human life.

"There are various helps to the acquisition of this one religion, and various hindrances with the name of helps — bad machinery which men have set up to manufacture religion withal, and various theories about religion — various theologies, still there is only one religion. Of this the Jew has some, the Hindu, Moham-

metan, Idolater, Christian, each has some. No sect has all; no race of men is wholly destitute of religion.

"The great error of all the Christian sects at the present day, I take it, is this: 1st, they start with the idea of an imperfect God, a God who is jealous, selfish, revengeful and destructive, who is a tyrant, and made the world from a mean motive, and hence a mean purpose; 2d, they start with the notion that this imperfect God has made a miraculous revelation of himself in time (and that revelation is contained in the Church, as the Catholics say, or in the Bible, as the Protestants say), which is to bind all the human race forever, and is the ultimate standard of appeal in all matters of religion (and philosophy, some say). Then out of these two notions they construct a scheme of theology, which is at variance with the best principles of human nature, and teach it in the name of God and religion.

"If I understand it, the Progressive Friends will start with the idea of the infinite perfection of God, that he is perfect in power, in wisdom, in justice, in love, and in holiness. Then they will take the Bible for what it is worth, and develop religion in a natural way out of their own souls. I rejoice in your movement, and I wish I could be present with you on the 22d, but it is quite impossible, so you will please accept my best wishes, and believe me truly yours,

"Theodore Parker."

Joseph A. Dugdale, for the committee.

At the Longwood meeting of 1859 it was reported that Parker was critically ill in Italy, and the following letter was thereupon addressed to him as an expression of affection and appreciation:

"To our well-beloved Friend and Fellow-Laborer in the cause of Truth and Righteousness, Theodore Parker, the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends sendeth greeting.

"As we are about to close our Seventh Annual Convocation, our hearts turn with loving tenderness to thee. We remember with gratitude how thy presence cheered us in former years, and how the words of truth that fell from thy lips were as sunlight and dew upon our hearts, enlightening our minds and quickening us to more earnest labor in the cause of humanity. We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of sending to thee across the ocean a message of sympathy and affection; of heartfelt regret for the illness which has compelled thee to suspend thy public labors, and of hope for thy speedy and complete recovery. The earnest prayer of our hearts is, that the voice which has so often blessed us may not be long silent, but be again lifted up with new power in behalf of truth and righteousness.

"Signed by direction and on behalf of the Meeting, 1st of sixth month, 1859.

"Joseph A. Dugdale,
"Elizabeth Jackson,
"Oliver Johnson,
Clerks."

This kindly and sympathetic greeting elicited a responsive reply:

Montreux, Switzerland, 25th of ninth month, 1859.

"*To the Progressive Friends in Pennsylvania — Dear Friends,*— Your kindly letter of the first of sixth month, signed by your clerks, Joseph A. Dugdale, Elizabeth Jackson, and Oliver Johnson — persons well known and highly esteemed — reached me but yesterday, for it was long delayed in Paris. Let me now, from a full heart, thank you for your generous expres-

sion of such sympathy and regard. In these times, when a difference of theological opinions so often hinders all feeling of human brotherhood, your words come to me full of sweetness and encouragement. How pleasant it is to find religion without bigotry; devotion to God with no hatred of his children!

"Once I intended and promised to speak also to each of the other congregations of Progressive Friends; but now I think you will never again hear my voice in your yearly meetings; for even if I somewhat recover my health, it seems I must hereafter address men only with the pen, and no longer also with the living word. Yet I trust I shall never fail, with what powers I have, to help forward the cause of truth and righteousness, so dear to you all.

"I kept sacred the anniversary of your last meeting with devout gratitude for the opportunity I twice had of preaching before you what to me is far more dear than this earthly, mortal life, for the friendly reception my words found amongst you, and the cheering talk I had with many of you in private. The faces of the men and women I value so much came up before me and peopled the solitude of the ocean. I was, when sailing through, comparing their human loveliness with the else mere material beauty of the sea. This year I could not gather with you at the yearly meeting; yet was I present in spirit, and joined in your spoken or silent prayer for the truth which shall make all men free, and for the love that shall add its most precious blessings to all human kind.

"Long may the spirit of truth and love, the spirit of religion, live in your hearts, shedding its gladness and its beauty on your daily lives, while it keeps your feet in the paths of righteousness, and strengthens your hands for every duty which God demands of you. Believe me faithfully,

"Your friend,

"Theodore Parker."

Page, 71, note 1. This saying about search for truth is wrongly attributed to Luther. It is in Lessing's Wolfenbüttel Fragments, the essay entitled "Eine Duplix." It will be found in his Sämmtliche Schriften, Berlin, 1784–1824, vol. 6, p. 147. See also Sime's "Lessing," vol. 2, p. 206, and Helen Zimmern's "Life and Works of Lessing," p. 361.

Page, 79, note 2. Narcisco Lopez, a South American by birth, arranged three invasions of Cuba, in August, 1849, May, 1850, and August, 1851. He landed in May with 300 men from the slave-holding states, and was driven out by government troops. The third expedition was the boldest and the most disastrous. Crittenden's band was captured and shot. That led by Lopez was surprised, and he was executed by garrote. Cuban buccaneering was popular in New Orleans and throughout the Gulf region so long as there remained a shadow of a hope that the game which brought in Texas would be played over. Cuba was not the only neighboring soil where suspicious watch was kept upon the aggrandizing spirit of the United States. In Mexico and in Central America there was good reason to fear aggression from this lawless and half rebellious Southern element. Of filibustering expeditions and lone star associations we heard enough in the next decade, and the gift of a grave was the usual end of them.— James Schouler, History of the United States, vol. 5, pp. 215-219.

Page 79, note 3. Bill Poole kept an eating-house at the corner of Broadway and Howard street, New York. On the evening of February 24, 1855, he was assaulted at Stanwix Hall, a Broadway saloon, and murdered. He had a great public funeral attended by thousands, and much excitement followed. He seems to have been "a ward heeler," and it was asserted that he was killed by an organized conspiracy for political reasons, in order that the control of the police might be secured

for party purposes. The agitation found its way to Albany, and the police force was reorganized.

Page 79, note 4. Revolutions took place in Germany, France and other European countries in the year 1848.

Page 81, note 5. The Crimean war was being largely reported in the newspapers during the early months of 1855.

Page 90, note 6. The reference here is to Dr. Orville Dewey, a prominent Unitarian minister settled in New York. Parker frequently condemned Dewey for his words, which were probably wrongly reported; but Parker would accept no qualifications. In his biography of Parker John W. Chadwick says on page 256, "Dr. Dewey's remark was one of those which Parker never tired of worrying. He insisted on its grossest form, and wrote in his journal that Dewey would have done what he said. This showed his ignorance of the man, whose unfortunate expression was simply an hyperbole caught up to express Dr. Dewey's sense of the evils that would attend a disruption of the Union." In the Autobiography and Letters of Dewey, page 129, Chadwick also says: "I doubt if Garrison or Parker had a keener sense than his of the enormity of human slavery."

Much testimony can be presented to show that the American churches were largely friendly to slavery or not opposed to it. This can be found in S. J. May's Reminiscences and in Parker Pillsbury's The Church as it is. In his Anti-Slavery Days James Freeman Clarke says on pages 107 and 111: "The great political parties were both opposed to the anti-slavery movement; a large part of the church and the leading theologians were also opposed to it."

Page 93, note 7. Such a letter was published in one of the Boston papers, and was put into his scrap-book by Parker. It was an expression of the real religious

attitude of the time on the part of many excellent persons.

THE NOTION OF GOD

In May, 1858, Parker preached four sermons at Longwood, Pa. They were preached at Music Hall during the preceding months of that year, and were printed in the "Proceedings of the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, including Four Sermons by Theodore Parker. New York, Oliver Johnson, 1858." They were published separately in pamphlet form with this title-page: "The Biblical, the Ecclesiastical, and the Philosophical Notion of God, and the Soul's Normal Delight in Him. Four Sermons, preached in the Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, at Longwood, Pa., May 30th and 31st, 1858. By Theodore Parker, Minister of the XXVIIIth Congregational Society in Boston. New York, John F. Trow, Printer, 1858."

These sermons were received with much favor at Longwood. The clerks for that year were Joseph A. Dugdale and Oliver Johnson. They say of the first sermon, in the "Proceedings," that it "commanded the fixed and earnest attention of the whole assembly." "He was listened to with heartfelt pleasure by a crowded audience," they report of the last sermon.

He prefaced the first sermon with a brief statement of his purpose in the whole course. "Some years ago I spoke to you 'Of the Relation between Ecclesiastical Institutions and the Religious Consciousness of the American People.' I am now here again to speak on great and kindred themes. You have no authoritative Scriptures; your Bible is the universe, the world of matter your Old Testament, the world of man the New. In both there are revelations every day, for that canon is not closed, nor ever will be. With the catholic spirit of universal religion one of your clerks has just read

from the Scriptures of the Chinese, the Hindus, the Persians, the Mohametans, the Hebrews, and the Christians. There is one material nature about us all, one human nature in us all, one Divine nature, one Infinite God above us all, immanent in each, near to the Buddhist and the Christian, equally loving to all. He is no respecter of sects more than of persons. I wish to speak of the notions men have of God, and of the effect thereof. So, if your business allow and your patience will endure so much, I will preach four sermons:

I. Of the Progressive Development of the Conception of God in the books of the Bible.

II. Of the Ecclesiastical Conception of God, and its Relation to the Scientific and Religious Wants of the Age.

III. Of the Natural or Philosophical Idea of God, and its Relation to the Scientific and Religious Wants of the Age.

IV. Of the Soul's Normal Delight in the Infinite God.

These are all great themes, of interest to mankind — not least, I think, to Progressive Friends."

Frothingham speaks of these as "remarkable discourses." Of the first one Chadwick says it "suggests that his mind was already suffering from the depletion of his physical strength. It is below the level of his knowledge of Old Testament studies, while at the same time it indicates what a transposition of values there has been since Parker's time." Chadwick says of the third sermon: "This is one of the loftiest expressions of the faith that was in him. By 'philosophical' in his title he means 'rational'; so generally."

Page 103, note 1. Parker was the first minister in the United States to have flowers placed on the pulpit. In his Life of Parker O. B. Frothingham says, page 242: "A vase of flowers stood on his pulpit — the

wild flowers in their season, cultivated flowers always — placed there by friends in the parish. Their beauty and fragrance crept into sermon and prayer. Having thus served in the worship of the morning, they went in the afternoon to the chambers of the sorrowing and the sick to fulfill the other divine duty of love. His love for wild flowers was almost a passion; he watched for their annual return and knew where, for miles around, he should find their first blooming."

Page 114, note 2. Black Republican (or Black Abolition) was the name given to the Republican party by its pro-slavery opponents from its organization in 1856 to the close of the Civil War, owing to its refusal to sanction the admission of slavery into any state where it did not previously exist. In the South in 1858 and immediately following a Black Republican was "regarded as identical with a rabid and malignant abolitionist." See Macy, Political Parties in the United States.

Page 147, note 3. Dr. Lyman Beecher was pastor of the Hanover street church in Boston from 1826 to 1832, and was very active in reviving the Calvinistic teachings of an earlier period. He was zealous in the revival agitations of the time, with which the name of Nettleton is prominently associated.

THE DELIGHTS OF PIETY

This sermon was preached at Music Hall in November, 1853, and was repeated at Longwood in 1855 at the meeting of Progressive Friends, one week later than the preceding one on "Ecclesiastical Institutions and Religious Consciousness." It was printed in the "Proceedings" of that year, with the title: "A Sermon of the Delights of Piety, delivered at the opening session of the Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, held at Longwood (near Kennett Square), Chester

County, Pa., on First Day morning, 20th of Fifth month, 1855." At this meeting Parker was made chairman of the committee on correspondence, and he took part in discussing an essay on amusements read by Oliver Johnson, and also one on the evils arising from the use of tobacco.

This sermon has not before appeared in any American volume, but it was included by Miss Cobbe in the third volume of her edition, entitled "Discourses of Theology."

BEAUTY IN THE WORLD OF MATTER

This sermon was printed as a 16mo pamphlet, 24 pages, with the following title-page: "A Sermon for Midsummer Day. Beauty in the world of Matter, considered as a Revelation of God, by Rev. Theodore Parker, Minister of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society. Preached at the Music Hall, on Sunday, July 15, 1855. With Prefatory Letter from Mr. Parker at Santa Cruz. Boston, Published by the Fraternity, 1859." It appeared in the third volume, "Discourses of Theology," of Frances Power Cobbe's "Collected Works of Theodore Parker," 1863. The "prefatory letter" is given here in full:

In the summer of 1855 I preached a series of discourses treating in an abstract and metaphysical way certain great matters, which required some severity of attention to master, or even comprehend. When it was nearly finished the weather became exceedingly warm, and it seemed to me not quite fit to lay heavy burthens on the minds of men to be borne in the heat of such days. Surely the wise minister will not change the blessed day of rest into a day of torment for the body as well as the soul. So, taking the hint alike from the season and the handsome things it brought forth so abundantly, I paused a little in my course of abstrac-

tions, and, taking a theme which was sure to require none but spontaneous attention from any audience, I preached "Of the Lesson of Beauty,— a Sermon for Midsummer Day." The unusual form of the discourse may easily be objected to, and declared unfit to be preached from the pulpit; but I think the listeners then found it fit to be heard in the pews: and now, when thousands of miles from home, and compelled to be silent, I hope the readers will equally accept the lesson which the Infinite Teacher offers us all in the facts of nature, whence I have tried to translate it into plain human speech.

Had I written the sermon in this fair-skied island of the Holy Cross, the lesson would have been the same, but the illustrations had been quite different. The same truth had ridden forth in like queenly sort, but in another chariot. Here it seems to me to be always midsummer, the weather is so genial by day and night. How clear the skies are! how brilliant the sun! It does not seem to go down and set, but rather to fall down and disappear, so suddenly, in this low latitude, does darkness take the place of day. But what a night it is, how quick the nobler stars come out, how large they look! The sun is scarcely out of sight, and not only the planets — Jupiter and Mars — appear, but the larger fixed stars, as Sirius and Arcturus, with handsome attendance, have kindled a new day; then all the lesser sons of heaven, the "common people of the skies," rush into the field with democratic swiftness, and yet without indecorous haste. The Great Bear seems like a constellation of twinkling moons. Here, too, are stars I never saw before; on the Southern Cross beauty is for ever "lifted up" for the benediction of the world, and thereby the Father draws the eyes of even savage men and foplings of the street. When the new moon is only a day old, it is plain she carries the old one in her arms. Now she has not been gibbous quite

two days, but yet the printer could read this letter by her light, walking in brightness such as northern eyes behold not. Even now the clouds are colored as by day, only with less brilliant hues, yet quite equal to the day-clouds of a New England winter.

The vegetation astonishes a northern lover of nature, all is so strange. Save the rose, here is not a tree, not a shrub, an herb, nor a weed which I have ever seen growing naturally before. The flora is a conservatory turned out of doors. Our oaks and elms are replaced by tamarinds, cocoa-nuts, mahoganies, and mountain-palms; our apple and pear trees by the sappodilla, the banana, the orange, and the breadfruit; our sweet-scented locust has many a thorny cousin here, but all strangers to me. While the minister, in his surplice, is reading the Episcopal litany, the oleanders, tall as the eaves of his meeting-house, not admitted to the church, solicited by the wind, bend down and reach in through the window — which needs no glass to hedge the flock from cold — and interrupt the artificial service with their natural lesson of beauty, not only for that day, but for all days of the human year. Huge "silk-cotton trees," and "Guinea tamarinds," mainly leafless now, diversify the landscape with their queer and fantastic look. The hills are mantled with sugar-cane, whose joints contain a sovereign juice, the island's wealth,— where power and sweetness float together for human good or ill; all the estates run with vegetable honey now, as the windmills crush the wealthy crop. The "pride of Barbadoes" opens its gorgeous bloom at the top of all the hedges; the false ipecacuanha — a ghastly beauty not less than a ghastly cure — grows by the road-side, with a certain lurid, poisonous look, as have many of her asclepian kindred. There is beauty all around, at least gorgeousness. Even the fish are many-coloured, and look like flowers of the sea, so brilliant and so various are their hues.

You are amazed at the wealth of life in these tropic lands. The ground, the air, the water, are all animated; a dead fruit is quickly transfigured to new life, so soon do insects translate the decaying elements to a higher form of existence.

But after all it seems to me that nature here is not so nearly related to man as at home; vegetation has an unkindly look; you suspect these meretricious flowers, and keep aloof from the acacias and cactuses, and would have an honest homely apple-tree rather than all the prickly pears in all these islands which Columbus named after the eleven thousand virgins of Cologne. Perhaps this may be prejudice and narrow-mindedness on my part, I only tell what appears.

In our cold northern lands we get tired of the winter; a longing for spring affects our literature, and has its influence on the character of all northern civilization. Here it is perpetual summer, and nobody longs for what all enjoy. The absence of grass is not pleasing to one who lives where it comes "creeping, creeping, creeping everywhere." Who would like to be buried under ugly sedges, their solid stems growing a foot apart and six feet high, and never wet with dew? Grass-clad earth "unto our flesh is kind," and the sods of a New England valley will one day be sweet to us all.

But here as elsewhere the lesson of beauty is continual, and the same which is offered in New England. Large-hearted Mr. Welltodo might spend his Sunday as profitably in Friedriksstad as in his native town, for the divine in nature looks out everywhere, and means Love in torrid zones or frigid.

"Then looke, who list thy gazefull eyes to feed
With sight of that is faire, looke on the frame
Of this wyde universe, and therein reed
The endlesse kinds of creatures which by name

Thou canst not count, much less their nature's aime;
All which are made with wondrous wise respect,
And all with admirable beautie deckt."

"T. P."

"*Friedriksstad, Santa Cruz, March 15, 1859.*"

GOD'S REVELATION IN MATTER AND MIND

In the spring of 1854 Parker preached a series of sermons on the revelation of God in nature and man. He returned to the subject in various forms, and in November and December, 1857, he preached a series of six sermons dealing especially with this favorite topic of his later years. It is evident he had gradually formulated his conclusions until he hoped to produce a popular and yet a systematic interpretation of the problems involved. In his "Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker," vol. 2, p. 424, John Weiss gives the list of sermons as at first preached, as follows:

No. 880. The Progress of True Theological Ideas. Part i. Historical.

No. 881. The same. Part ii. Conjectural.

No. 885. The Progress of God in the World of Matter.

No. 889. The Evidence of God in the Relations between the World of Matter and of Mind. Part i.

No. 890. The same. Part ii.

The impression made by these sermons was such that he was requested to repeat them, which he did in January and February, 1858. It would appear that they were then largely rewritten and given in the more systematic form in which they appear in this volume. It is in part doubtful whether Parker intended to include in this series the sermon on the innermost facts of religious consciousness, and yet in his own note-book recording his sermons preached it is listed as No. i. of this series. It has been thought best, therefore, to give

it the place assigned it, as introductory to the five succeeding sermons, which form a systematic course.

In writing to George Ripley from St. Thomas, May 13, 1859, concerning his 'Experience as a Minister,' Parker added: "I don't know that I have published anything more important this long time, though I preached a series of sermons on the 'Testimony of the World of Matter to the Existence and Character of God' in 1857–8, which I think the ablest I ever wrote. I wish I could live long enough to print them; each was an hour and a quarter long (hard, abstruse matter) and I did not preach more than two-thirds of the MS. I have not much instinctive love of life, but just now I should like a year or two more to finish up some things not half done. Still I am ready anytime, and have never had a minute of sadness at the thought of passing to the immortals."

On June 2, writing from Radley's Hotel, London, to Frances Power Cobbe, he returns to the subject, after mentioning his hope of recovery: "I have many things half ready for the press which none beside me could print. In special, I have a short volume of sermons on the 'Evidence of God found in the World of Matter and of Mind'; they were preached in 1858. I like them better than anything I have done before. Each was about an hour and a quarter in the delivery, and what was spoken could be recalled from the notes of the phonographer who daguerreotyped all my words. But I did not preach more than half of what my *brief* contained. The unpreached matter will be lost without me; hard to write it out. Besides, I have volumes more in that state."

Once again he wrote of these sermons to an intimate friend, this time addressing Professor Edward Desor from Rome, February 24, 1860. "Here in Rome I am out of the way of all books, except the Lives of the Saints, etc. But yet I learn of Mr. Darwin's work

on 'Principles of Selection in Natural History.' It is one of the most important works the British have lately contributed to science. He does not believe in Agassiz's foolish notion of an interposition of God when a new form of lizard makes its appearance on the earth. Indeed, a God who only works by fits and starts is no God at all. Science wants a God that is a constant force and a constant intelligence, immanent in every particle of matter. The old theological idea of God is as worthless for science as it is for religion. I should like to live long enough to finish and print a course of sermons I preached in 1858, on 'The Testimony of Matter and Mind to the Existence and Character of God.' It certainly is the most important thing I have done in my life; but is left not fit for publication. If I don't do the work some one else will; a little later, but perhaps better."

In 1862 Mrs. Parker proposed to publish this series of sermons, and they were copied by Mr. Rufus Leighton, who reported many of Parker's sermons and published several of them. In a letter to her, dated Washington, November, 1862, he wrote: "The five sermons which I send were put into this present shape some time since. You will recollect that at the time of their delivery abstracts of four of them appeared in the 'Atlas and Bee.' Mr. Yerrington and I voluntarily prepared them and procured their publication at the time. I knew how much Mr. Parker thought of these sermons, as he had spoken to me of them, and in a note which he wrote me on the 21st January, 1859, he mentioned two or three books which he meant to publish at some time if he should get well, and among them the one you propose to bring out. His other works had just then come into my hands from Little, Brown & Co. Thinking that at some future time I might have the satisfaction of publishing this book for him during the winter I took the abstracts as printed, and from

my notes filled them out, and also copied the last sermon of the six; and as they now stand they are almost or quite word for word as delivered from the pulpit. Since you wrote to me I have looked them over carefully again. Some of the pages look a little confused, but I think they are all so plain that a printer would not have the least difficulty in making them out. I am exceedingly glad that these sermons are to be published, as they certainly will be a valuable addition to what has been said on the subject by others, and I think they will meet with a good reception, especially in England, and on the Continent."

This plan for publication was not carried out, and the copies made by Mr. Leighton passed to Parker's literary executor. They have now been revised by Mr. Leighton for the present volume, Parker's MSS. being used for this purpose. As far as possible, therefore, they present not only what Parker wrote, but what he said in addition on the delivery of the sermons.

This series has often been mentioned by Parker's friends and hearers as "the Darwin sermons." It is evident from his letter to Professor Desor that Parker had not read Darwin's book on "The Origin of Species," the first edition of which was published on November 24, 1859. It is possible, however, that he did read Darwin's summary of his views, which, together with Wallace's paper on variation, was read before the Linnæan Society, July 1, 1858, and printed in the Journal of that society about the first of October, the same year. He is more likely to have read the articles in the English reviews, where the "Origin" received large attention. Especially noteworthy was an extended outline of Darwin's argument published in the "Times" for December 26, 1859, written by Huxley, who also had an article on the book in "Macmillan's Magazine" for December, 1859. Another friendly summary and review was that by W. B. Carpenter in

the " National Review " for January, 1860. It is evident Parker appreciated such conception of the book as could be obtained in that manner.

These dates indicate that the Linnæan Society publication is the only one that could have influenced Parker in the preparation of this series of sermons. The sermons themselves indicate that he did not grasp the idea of natural selection, and that he must have been influenced by older forms of the theory of evolution. That he was a strong believer in evolution these sermons prove, but he was indebted probably to Goethe, Robert Chambers in the " Vestiges of Creation," and other writers who were feeling their way to the transmutation conception of origins. It should not be forgotten, however, that the idea of progress, of a fundamental law of evolution in the physical, organic and human world, was very generally accepted by such men as Emerson, Parker, Thoreau, and many others. It was intimately associated with the reform tendencies of that period, and was regarded as the justification for the reforms then proposed.

The titles of these sermons are here given in full as they appear in Parker's manuscripts, together with the dates of their final delivery: —

1. The Innermost Facts of Religious Consciousness. December 6, 1857.

2. Evidences of God in the World of Matter. January 10, 1858.

3. Evidences of God in the World of Man. January 17, 1858.

4. Evidences of God in the Relation Between the World of Matter and the World of Man. January 24, 1858.

5. Evidences of God in the Relation Between the World of Matter and the Spirit of Man. January 31, 1858.

6. The Relation between God and Man. February 7, 1858.

Page 241, note 1. The Crystal Palace, so-called because it was largely built of glass, was erected at Hyde Park, London, in 1851, for the World's Fair opened that year.

Page 244, note 2. The reference is to Juggernaut or Jagannath, whose temple is at Puri, a town of Orissa. This temple is devoted to Vishnu in the form of Jagannath, who is a people's god, and has the chararteristics of Krishna. One of the festivals of the god is called Rath jattra or car festival, and in the rush of devotees by accident persons are sometimes crushed. No one is thrown under the car as a part of the ceremonies. The god is not Buddhist, but Vishnuistic.

Page 251, note 3. The laws of energy were new in 1858 and Parker gave the latest information of that time. The list of forces manifested in the conservation of energy has now been extended to include kinetic and gravitation energies, heat, energy of elasticity, and cohesian, chemical, electrical, magnetic, and radiant energies.

Page 252, note 4. The baobab tree, usually known as Adansonia, grows in tropical Africa, is often regarded as the largest tree in the world, reaching a diameter of 20 feet.

Page 259, note 5. Here Parker must refer to the day of each planet or its time of revolution on its axis; not to the earth's day, as his expression seems to indicate.

Page 260, note 6. Miles Greenwood was the name of a fire-engine in Boston.

Page 260, note 7. The Journal and Transcript were leading morning and evening newspapers in Boston in 1858, as they now are.

Page 271, note 8. The Congregational church of

North Woburn was formed in 1846. In 1857 Alpheus S. Nickerson, a student at Andover, was called, but the council was not able to advise his settlement on the grounds mentioned. In 1858 another council ordained him, but did not secure him a legal settlement, and he soon withdrew.

Page 293, note 9. Caloric and actinic are old chemical terms now little used. Caloric is heat-force, not used in old sense of a subtle imponderable fluid. Actinic rays are vibrations too rapid to affect the eye, mostly used of photographic processes.

Page 293, note 10. The number of definitely determined elements is now 78.

Page 300, note 11. The Great Eastern was built 1853–58, and was the largest that had then been launched. It is mentioned on page 301 as the great Leviathan, from the fabulous creature described in the Jewish scriptures.

Page 301, note 12. The Atlantic cable was first opened August 17, 1858, from Ireland to Newfoundland; and the reference to New Orleans only indicated the wide reach of its communications.

Page 304, note 13. The present estimate of man's age varies from 250,000 to 300,000 years.

Page 336, note 14. Dr. Horace Wells, a dentist of Hartford, extracted teeth with the use of nitrous oxide. He communicated his discovery to Dr. William T. G. Morton, a dentist of Boston, who made use of sulphuric ether. He made known the results of his experiments to Dr. J. C. Warren, a leading surgeon of Boston. On October 16, 1846, ether was used by Dr. Warren at the Massachusetts General Hospital in a surgical case with complete success. The discovery was soon made known throughout the world.

Page 342, note 15. Russia attempted to make Moldavia and Wallachia its mere dependencies as result of a treaty of 1829 with Turkey. This was one of

the causes of the Crimean war, but the treaty of Paris in 1856 changed their relations; and in 1859–61 these two countries were joined to make the principality of Roumania, which, with the addition of Dobrudja, was made a kingdom in 1878.

THEOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL DEVELOPMENT OF NEW ENGLAND

These two sermons are placed here because in considerable degree they supplement the historical facts presented in the lecture on "Transcendentalism." In Parker's manuscript, as prepared for the press, evidently under his direction, they bear this title in full: — "The Moral Condition of Boston and New England; the Causes of that Condition, and its Present and Ultimate Consequences, considered in two sermons, preached at the Music Hall on the 10th and 17th of June, 1855." These sermons are almost wholly unlike that on "The Moral Condition of Boston," preached at the Melodeon, February 11, 1849, and published in "Speeches, Addresses, and Occasional Sermons," 1851. The title has been changed for this volume to make it more exactly descriptive of the contents.

Page 353, note 1. The "rights of men" were defined by John Locke in his second treatise on Government. This Parker seems to have known, but it evidently did not come within the scope of his definition. Probably he did not know "A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches," by John Wise, minister in Ipswich, now the town of Essex. Wise's book was published in 1717, and contained as definite a statement of natural rights as that given by Otis or any revolutionary leader. "Man's external personal, natural liberty," Wise wrote, "antecedent to all human parts or alliances, must also be considered; and so every man must be conceived to be perfectly in his own

power and disposal, and not to be controlled by the authority of any other."

Page 370, note 2. Francis Tukey was U. S. marshal at the time of the Antony Burns rendition. Col. T. W. Higginson, in his "Cheerful Yesterdays" calls him "a dark, handsome, picturesque man, said to pride himself on a certain Napoleon look."

Page 370, note 3. Nehemiah Adams, 1806–1878, was a Congregational minister in Cambridge and Boston. He spent a winter in Georgia, and published "A South Side View of Slavery," 1854, in which he praised the effect of slavery on religious character. He was often spoken of as "Southside Adams."

Page 372, note 4. The attitude of ministers in regard to the anti-slavery and other reforms is fully described in Samuel J. May's "Recollections of Our Anti-Slavery Conflict." In that work it is shown that many clergymen of all denominations were opposed to every reform movement of the day. Details and names are given.

Page 372, note 5. Josiah Quincy was the second mayor of Boston, 1823–1828. "The only innovation which was attempted in his time upon the old customs of the town was an experimental High School for girls, which had a brief trial of a year or two, and was then abandoned. The suggestion of the establishment of a school for the education of girls to as advanced a point as that of boys in the Latin and High Schools was one that naturally commended itself to the general public, and the experiment was fairly tried under the mastership of Mr. Ebenezer Bailey, a teacher of great experience and skill. In one sense it only succeeded too well. The number of candidates fit for admission was entirely beyond the capacity of the school-house at the start, with the prospect of growing still larger every year. And in one important respect the plan was found not to work as its projectors had expected it

would. The majority of the girls who could pass the preliminary examination were found to come from the wealthier classes, who could purchase for them instruction or were competent to afford it themselves. More than half the candidates came from private schools. Without going into the details of the question, the practical objections to the scheme seemed insuperable, and it was abandoned. This conclusion of the whole matter gave rise to great discontent, and brought much obloquy upon Mr. Quincy, who was known to regard the plan as impracticable, although the city government as a body, consented to the final action."— Life of Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts, by his son Edmund Quincy; Boston, Ticknor & Fields, 1868.

Page 385, note 6. This seems to have been Prof. George R. Noyes, who held the chair of Hebrew in the Harvard Divinity School for many years.

Page 385, note 7. Jonathan Mayhew was the minister of the West Church in Boston from 1747 to his death in 1766. He was the real founder of the Unitarian movement in the United States, and was carefully avoided by the other ministers of Boston on account of his radical opinions.

Page 389, note 8. The Cochituate reservoir brought water into Boston for the first time in 1848.

Page 392, note 9. A "creed," prepared by the secretary and directors of the American Unitarian Association, was presented at the annual meeting in 1853, and published in the Quarterly Journal for October, 1853, volume I. pp. 44–49. See Parker's "Friendly Letter to the Executive Committee of the American Unitarian Association." In the report of the Association an attempt was made to defend the Unitarian body against the charge of infidelity and rationalism made by the orthodox. The teachings of the transcendentalists and radicals had been attributed to all Unitarians, and the leaders of the Association felt that it was time

to define explicitly the position they occupied. Therefore they said: "We desire, in a denominational capacity, to assert our profound belief in the divine origin, the divine authority, the divine sanctions of the religion of Jesus Christ. This is the basis of our associated action. We desire openly to declare our belief as a denomination, so far as it can be officially represented by the American Unitarian Association, that God, moved by his own love, did raise up Jesus to aid in our redemption from sin, did by him pour a fresh flood of purifying life through the withered veins of humanity and along the corrupted channels of the world, and is, by his religion, forever sweeping the nations with regenerating gales from heaven, and visiting the hearts of men with celestial solicitations. We receive the teachings of Christ, separated from all foreign admixtures and later accretions, as infallible truth from God." John W. Chadwick rightly said this is "the most curious, not to say amusing, document in our denominational archives." See Cooke's Unitarianism in America, pp. 156–157.